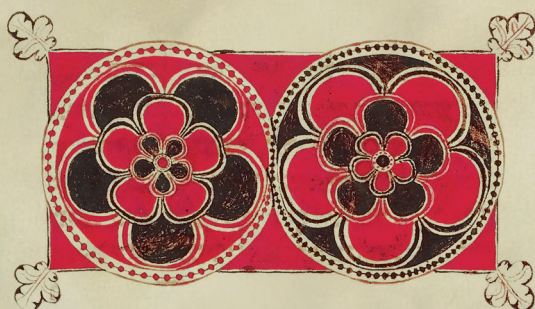
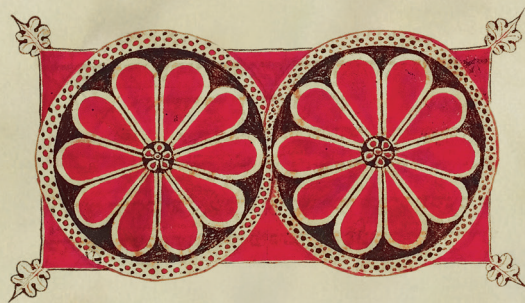




Luke Was Not a Christian

READING THE THIRD GOSPEL
AND ACTS WITHIN JUDAISM



JOSHUA PAUL SMITH

BRILL

Luke Was Not a Christian: Reading the Third Gospel and Acts within Judaism

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By

Joshua Paul Smith



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for Danny,
ἀδελφὸς μου ἐν Κυρίῳ



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Lastly, this work would not have been possible without the selfless patience, empathy, and loving reassurance of my spouse, Alyssa Bennett Smith. What an unspeakable grace it is to be your partner and friend.

Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible Commentary Series
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
AJEC	Brill's Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity Series
AJSR	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
AmJT	<i>The American Journal of Theology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AThR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BAGL	<i>Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BCBC	Believers Church Bible Commentary
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Brill's Biblical Interpretation Series
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BMSSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTF	<i>Bangalore Theological Forum</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies Series
BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCSS	Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Edited by Jean Baptiste Chabot et al. Paris, 1903
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature Series
EQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ETS	Erfurter theologische Studien
EuroJTh	<i>European Journal of Theology</i>

<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>The Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCPs</i>	Brill's Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
<i>JECs</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JJI</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Identities</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>The Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>The Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRSSup</i>	Journal of Religion & Society Supplement Series
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LangSci</i>	<i>Language Science</i>
<i>LNTS</i>	Library of New Testament Studies
<i>LSTS</i>	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>LumVie</i>	<i>Lumière et Vie</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NICNT</i>	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>PCNT</i>	Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia Graeca
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia Latina
<i>PNTC</i>	Pillar New Testament Commentary

<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
PS	Brill's Pauline Studies Series
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RivistB</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
SCA	Brill's Studies on the Children of Abraham Series
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhiloA	Studia Philonica Annual
<i>SR</i>	<i>The Sewanee Review</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
SymS	SBL's Symposium Series
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative Series
<i>Theol</i>	<i>Theologica</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	<i>Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Introduction

Ben Bag-Bag said: Turn [the Torah] over, and again turn it over, for all is therein. And look into it; and become gray and old therein; and do not move away from it, for you have no better portion than it.

m. Aboth 5,22

• • •

The general notion of a progressive development from Palestinian Jewish Christianity by way of Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity, pre-pauline gentile Christianity, Paul and gentile Christianity besides and after him, to Early Catholicism is not likely to provide any natural setting for the composition of Luke-Acts. Both the continued interrelations between Jews and Christians and the history of Jewish Christianity have to be taken into account. Possibly, the whole history of early Christianity has to be re-written.

NILS A. DAHL, "The Purpose of Luke-Acts"

• •

Contrary to the long-held assumption that the author of Luke/Acts was a gentile Christian writing for a similar audience, in this book I argue that evidence internal to Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles strongly suggests that Luke was educated and enculturated primarily within a Jewish setting.¹ A major consequence of this understanding of Lukan authorship is that it produces a coherent and comprehensive reading of Luke/Acts in which the gentile mission is understood not as a *supersession* of Judaism in late antiquity, but rather a *fulfillment* and *expansion* of Israel's own salvation-history.

¹ Since "gentile" is not a proper noun but rather a broad generic term for non-Jews, I have left the word uncapitalized throughout this work. In addition, following Kylie Crabbe's example, I have also opted to render the Lukan *Doppelwerk* as "Luke/Acts" over Cadbury's conjunctive "Luke-Acts." See Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History*, BZNW 238 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 54–55. On the literary unity of Luke and Acts, see 5n17 below.

In 1972—a decade after the publication of Krister Stendahl's paradigm-shifting essay, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West,"² and five years before E.P. Sanders launched what eventually came to be known as the New Perspective on Paul³—Norwegian scholar Jacob Jervell (1925–2014) published a small book of seven essays collectively titled *Luke and the People of God*.⁴ In this volume, Jervell reads the Acts of the Apostles in such a way that Luke's portrait of Paul bears a striking resemblance in theology and mission to the Paul of the later New Perspective: The Lukan Paul is the paradigmatic Jewish Pharisee, the Teacher of Israel and upholder of Torah, called to be an apostle to the gentiles, and falsely accused of persuading other Jews to apostatize from the Law of Moses. Yet while the New Perspective found a solid footing within Pauline studies, Jervell's work garnered little analogous support from scholars of Luke/Acts. To date, *Luke and the People of God* has been ignored to large degree by Germanic scholarship, but also Anglophonic scholarship, as well.⁵ Meanwhile, the New Perspective on Paul has further precipitated the "Paul within Judaism" Perspective advocated by John Gager, Mark Nanos, and Pamela Eisenbaum, among others.⁶ Today, most readers of Luke/Acts continue to assume that Luke was a gentile, writing for a predominantly gentile-Christian church. Yet the similarities between the New Perspective on Paul and Jervell's reading of Luke/Acts persist. This raises several questions: Why would a gentile-Christian author be so insistent that both Jesus and Paul were consummate "doers of Torah"?⁷ To what extent were Jervell's conclusions merited, and on what points might they be revised and updated? Is it now time

2 Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56, no. 3 (July 1963), 199–215.

3 See E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977).

4 Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972).

5 A recent commentary on Luke by Amy-Jill Levine and Ben Witherington III, for example, relegates the entirety of Jervell's work to a single footnote. See Levine and Witherington, *The Gospel of Luke*. New Cambridge Bible Commentary (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

6 Mark Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letters* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) and *idem*, *The Irony of Galatians: Paul's Letter in First-Century Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002); John Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Pamela Eisenbaum, *Paul Was Not A Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle* (New York: HarperOne, 2009).

7 On this matter, for instance, the perspective of Eyal Regev is becoming increasingly common: "There must be a reason why Luke is so protective and wants to reject accusations of disloyalty to Judaism. The reason is, I suggest, that Luke sees himself attached to Judaism, whether or not he is of Jewish origin or circumcised. His message is that Christianity is not only loyal to its Jewish roots; it *is* Judaism!... The Temple theme enables Luke to present Christianity as

for a “New Perspective on Luke”?⁸ And if so, what additional questions might arise from such a perspective concerning Luke’s identity and his historical and theological aims?

Several broad observations suggest that a reconsideration of Lukan authorship is needed. For instance, the last three decades of New Testament research have brought serious challenges against the notion that a clear and noticeable break occurred between Jewish and Christian identities in the first few centuries of the Common Era. The irreversible schism between Judaism and Christianity known as the “Parting of the Ways,” once believed to have taken place sometime around the fall of Jerusalem under the reign of Vespasian in 70 CE (and certainly no later than the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 135), has been criticized as a problematic and oversimplified account of Judeo-Christian origins. Since the 2003 publication of Adam Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed’s edited volume *The Ways that Never Parted*,⁹ however, a profusion of alternative theories have been suggested.¹⁰ If Judaism and Christianity did not coalesce into discrete “religions”¹¹ until long after the second century, this should compel

if it is mainstream Judaism,” Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 196.

8 As far as I am aware, the first scholar to speak of a “New Perspective on Luke” is Christfried Böttrich, “Lukas in neuer Perspektive,” *EvT* 79, no. 2 (2019), 114–129. Böttrich concludes that it is probably best to speak of plural *New Perspectives* on Luke/Acts.

9 Adam Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *The Ways that Never Parted* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

10 See, e.g., Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?: On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple*, *AJEC* 78 (Boston: Brill, 2012); Joseph B. Tyson, “Acts, the ‘Parting of the Ways,’ and the Use of the Term ‘Christians,’” 128–140 in *Bridging between Sister Religions: Studies of Jewish and Christian Scriptures Offered in Honor of Prof. John T. Townsend*, ed. by Isaac Kalimi (Boston: Brill, 2016); Shaye J.D. Cohen, “The Ways That Parted: Jews, Christians, and Jewish-Christians, ca. 100–150 CE,” 307–339 in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE*, ed. by Joshua Schwartz and Peter J. Tomson (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Lori Baron, Jill Hicks-Keeton, and Matthew Thiessen, eds., *The Ways that Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*, *ECL* 24 (Atlanta: SBL, 2018); and Adele Reinhartz, “How Christianity Parted from Judaism,” 97–120 in *Early Judaism: New Insights and Scholarship*, ed. by Frederick E. Greenspahn (New York: NYU Press, 2018). For a concise overview of the literature pertaining to the Parting of the Ways as a heuristic metaphor, see Timothy A. Gabrielson, “Parting Ways or Rival Siblings? A Review and Analysis of Metaphors for the Separation of Jews and Christians in Antiquity,” *CurBR* 19, no. 2 (2021), 178–204.

11 Part of the question of whether we can grasp Luke’s religious background from the texts he left us involves the question of what precisely *religion* is. If it is a personal preference, a hobby in which one engages at their leisure, a matter of individual internal “belief,” then it is very likely as mysterious and off-limits to the critical scholar as, for instance, authorial

scholars of Luke/Acts to reconsider the way in which the Third Gospel and its companion volume are read and discussed by default as “gentile” texts.¹² Isaac Oliver has argued similarly:

It is no longer possible to assume, without demonstration, that once the first generation of Jewish followers of Jesus had passed away, the ‘parting of the ways’ between Judaism and Christianity was a *fait accompli*, or that Christ-followers lost interest in matters deemed to be Jewish, such as Torah observance or the salvation of the Jewish people. This linear, even teleological conception of the early Jewish-Christian relationship underestimates the degree of its complexity, assuming that Judaism and Christianity were inevitably drifting apart in ways that make both of these entities recognizably distinct to us today. ... New Testament scholarship has overemphasized Luke’s attention to gentile interests at the cost of neglecting his appreciation of Jewish concerns.¹³

New research therefore demands that we revise our old assumptions accordingly.

Reading Luke and Acts as the works of a non-Jewish author requires ignoring the complicated early reception history of both texts. While Andrew

intention. If religion is primarily a matter of *enculturation*, however—a totalizing form of existence that touches on every aspect of one’s personhood—then of course almost inevitably there will be traces of it to be discerned within the text to varying degrees. See Adriana Destro, “Reassessing ‘Religious Practices’: A Reflection on Sociological Notions and Vocabulary,” 3–15 in *“The One Who Sows Bountifully”: Essays in Honor of Stanley K. Stowers* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2013). On the novelty of the concept of “religion” and the role that both Jews and Christians played in its development as a distinct category of human culture, see Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016); Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); and Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Jewish-Christianity and the History of Judaism*, TSAJ 171 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 422–435.

12 For other studies that revisit Luke/Acts in light of recent “Parting of the Ways” research, see David Andrew Smith, “Luke, the Jews, and the Politics of Early Christian Identity” (PhD diss., Duke University, 2018); and Matjaž Celarc, “Between Prophecy and Its Realisation. A Reading of Lk 1–2 and Acts 2–3 as a Fulfilment of the Isaianic Narrative,” *Unity and Dialogue* 75, no. 2 (2020), 73–93. For studies that do not deal explicitly with Luke/Acts but nonetheless begin from a similar starting point as this book regarding the Parting of the Ways, see Raimo Hakola, *Identity Matters: John, the Jews and Jewishness* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); and Joshua Ezra Burns, *The Christian Schism in Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

13 Isaac W. Oliver, *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 24.

Gregory has shown that knowledge of Luke and Acts in the second century is exceedingly sparse according to extant writings, some of the earliest church fathers who do comment on received traditions about the authorship of the Third Gospel are conflicted regarding Luke's background. Both Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 3.1.1) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.22), for example, identify the author of Luke and Acts as the companion of Paul mentioned in Col 4:14 and 2 Tim 4:11.¹⁴ Yet the anonymous Muratorian Fragment (ll. 2–8) describes Luke as “one zealous for the Law [i.e., Torah],” and Epiphanius (*Pan.* 51.11.6.) believed Luke to be one of the original Seventy(-Two) apostles sent out by Jesus (cf. Luke 10:1).

Lastly, Luke and Acts are replete with internal literary evidence that, though when taken piecemeal may not constitute a “smoking gun” for Luke's Jewishness, nonetheless when taken together strongly suggests Jewish authorship. Not only is the author of Luke/Acts intimately familiar with the history, scripture, and theology of Israel—more so than any extant writings by known gentiles prior to Justin Martyr—he also weaves it throughout both of his narratives with the aim of explaining gentiles' entrance into Israel's salvation history. At the same time, Luke intently portrays both Jesus and Paul as rigorous adherents to the halakhic obligations of Torah, from Jesus's circumcision and purification in Luke 2:21–24 to Paul's insistence that even after his supposed “conversion to Christianity,” he nonetheless remains a Pharisee (Acts 23:6).¹⁵

Generally speaking, the 1970s and 1980s saw growing interest in reconstructing the “Lukan community,”¹⁶ and the subsequent two decades centered upon questions concerning the various degrees of “unity” between Luke and Acts.¹⁷ A few recent studies, however, have once again turned toward Lukan

14 This correlation would seemingly necessitate Luke's identity as a gentile, since Aristarchus and Justus are ostensibly the only “ones of the circumcision” present with Paul (Col 4:11), thus ruling out the Jewishness of “Luke, the beloved physician” (Col 4:14). See, however, chapter 1 below. Eusebius also identifies Luke as writing specifically to a gentile audience in *Eccl. hist.* 4.25.

15 Objections to Luke's familiarity with Jewish tradition have been raised on the grounds of Luke's misinterpretation of the ritual of purification in Luke 2:21–24. As Matthew Thiessen has shown, however, Luke actually displays an understanding of parturient impurity that is shared by both *Jubilees* and 4Q265, two unmistakably Jewish texts. See Matthew Thiessen, “Luke 2:22, Leviticus 12, and Parturient Impurity,” *NovT* 54, no. 1 (2012), 16–29, and chapter 5 below.

16 Luke Timothy Johnson, “On Finding the Lukan Community: A Cautious Cautionary Essay,” 87–100 in 1979 *SBL Seminar Papers*, ed. by Paul J. Achtemeier (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979); Jacob Jervell, “The Mighty Minority,” *ST* 34, no. 1 (1980), 13–38.

17 The term “Luke-Acts” was first coined by Henry Cadbury in *The Making of Luke-Acts* in 1927 to describe the close literary relationship between the two constitutive volumes of the Lukan corpus. Since then, however, the “unity” of Luke/Acts has been challenged on several fronts. Robert Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis:

authorship as a key focus of Luke/Acts research, with special attention given to the social, historical, and theological context that shaped his authorial perspective.¹⁸ These studies remain a minority within the field—even as recently as 2007, an edited volume by Matt Jackson-McCabe on the topic of Jewish Christianity features essay contributions on Matthew, John, and even Q, but not Luke.¹⁹ Additionally, it is remarkable that, to the best of my knowledge, *no studies exist* which intentionally set out to make the case that Luke was a *gentile*. Instead, this conclusion is mostly taken for granted as a kind of antecedent to which other arguments may be attached. For instance, a number of works published in the latter half of the twentieth century center upon Luke's alleged anti-Jewish perspective.²⁰ A considerable shortcoming with most of these studies, however, is that they make their case at the expense of ignoring

Fortress Press, 1986–1990); C.K. Barrett, “The Third Gospel as Preface to Acts? Some Reflections,” 1451–1466 in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* Vol. 2, ed. by F. Van Segbroeck, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992); Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the “Acts of the Apostles”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. 43–64; Patrick E. Spencer, “The Unity of Luke-Acts: A Four-Bolted Hermeneutical Hinge,” *CurBR* 5, no. 3 (2007), 341–366; Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); Andrew F. Gregory and C. Kevin Rowe, eds., *Rethinking the Unity and Reception of Luke and Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), esp. 3–22. cf. Troy M. Loftgruben, “The Ending of Luke Revisited,” *JBL* 140, no. 2 (2021), 325–346. For the view that Luke and Acts were not written by the same author, see Patricia Walters, *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Reassessment of the Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Despite Walters's challenge to the authorial unity of Luke/Acts, I maintain that both texts were written by the same author, for reasons that will become clearer in chapter 3. Throughout this book I use the phrases “Luke/Acts” and “Luke and Acts” more or less interchangeably.

- 18 E.g. Andrew J. Cowan, *The Writings of Luke and the Jewish Roots of the Christian Way*, LNTS 599 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2019); Christopher Stroup, *The Christians Who Became Jews: Acts of the Apostles and Ethnicity in the Roman City* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2020). For a helpful summary of the current status of Lukan authorship studies, see Frank Dicken, “The Author and Date of Luke-Acts: Exploring the Options,” 7–26 in *Issues in Luke-Acts: Selected Essays*, ed. by Sean A. Adams and Michael Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).
- 19 Matt Jackson-McCabe, ed., *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007). So also Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik, eds., *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007).
- 20 E.g. Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury, 1974), esp. 64–95; Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), esp. 181–89; Amy-Jill Levine, “Luke and the Jewish Religion,” *Int* 68, no. 4 (2014), 389–402. For an overview of the problem, see Daryl D. Schmidt, “Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of Luke,” 63–96 in *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels*, ed. by William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999). By contrast, see

Luke's hostile treatment of *gentiles*, as well—which, though perhaps less frequent than his narration of intra-Jewish conflict, is no less important to his narrative. And of course, the fact that Luke *can* be read in an anti-Jewish register does not necessarily mean that this is how the author intended his work to be read.²¹ In short, Luke's gentile identity is often assumed, yet seldom argued.

It is not at all uncommon among Luke's subsequent commentators to encounter an argument that follows this or some similar line of reasoning:

1. Lukan *Excerpt A* contains an intriguingly Jewish element.
2. Yet Luke was obviously a gentile.
3. Thus, Lukan *Excerpt A* must depend upon an earlier Jewish source.

On the one hand, this may help explain why there are far more studies available to the scholar who wishes to compare the text of Luke/Acts to, say, a Homeric epic,²² but a relative dearth of resources regarding Luke's reliance upon deuterocanonical texts like the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the Maccabean literature, and Tobit.²³

Karl L. Armstrong, "The End of Acts and the Jewish Response: Condemnation, Tragedy, or Hope?" *CurBR* 17, no. 2 (2019), 209–230.

21 To take one example, James Carleton Paget has written of the Epistle of Barnabas: "In recent times interest in the study of [the Epistle of] Barnabas has centered on the author's use of sources. One of the results of this approach has been the realization that material in the epistle previously regarded as anti-Jewish is taken from Judaism itself. Hence to describe the author as anti-Jewish is to misrepresent him." James Carleton Paget, "Barnabas 9.4: A Peculiar Verse on Circumcision," in *Jews, Christians, and Jewish Christians in Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 76. More recently, Joel Marcus has concluded that the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, long believed to share an anti-Jewish outlook, was in fact a "Jewish Christian document." See Marcus, "The Gospel of Peter as a Jewish Christian Document," *NTS* 64, no. 4 (2018), 473–494.

22 E.g. Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); Christoph Heil, "Arius Didymus and Luke-Acts," *NovT* 42, no. 4 (2000), 358–393; Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele, eds., *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*, *SymS* 18 (Atlanta: SBL, 2003); Mark Kiley, "Roman Legends and Luke-Acts," *BTB* 39, no. 3 (2009), 135–142; Joshua W. Jipp, *Divine Visitations and Hospitality to Strangers in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:7–10* (Boston: Brill, 2013); Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Gospels and Homer: Imitations of Greek Epic in Mark and Luke-Acts*, *New Testament and Greek Literature* 1 (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), and MacDonald, *Luke and Vergil: Imitations of Classical Greek Literature*, *New Testament and Greek Literature* 2 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014); and Michael Kochenash, *Roman Self-Representation and the Lukan Kingdom of God* (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress Academic, 2020), among many others.

23 Cf. Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), esp. 139–165.

On the other hand, however, Luke clearly relied on existing sources to compose his gospel, and tells us as much in his prologue (cf. Luke 1:1–4), and the fact that Luke may have relied upon Jewish sources does not negate the possibility that Luke was Jewish himself.²⁴ While I do believe that redaction-critical approaches continue to produce fruitful insight into the methods by which Luke curated his gospel, in this book I largely set aside text-critical issues in favor of analyzing Luke and Acts as narratives that are comprehensible to readers as internally consistent, unified wholes.²⁵ This should not be understood to mean, however, that I will not draw upon text-critical or redaction-critical insights when relevant.²⁶ Additionally, although I also recognize the potential benefit that critical analysis of the Synoptic Problem might yield to the topic at hand, I see no need to rehash old arguments here.²⁷ I tend to agree with

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- 24 The search for rabbinic parallels in Luke/Acts has generally fallen out of favor since the publication of Samuel Sandmel's 1961 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, in which Sandmel issued a blistering critique of New Testament scholars who dabble in areas of specialty that are not their own. See Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81, no. 1 (March 1962), 1–13. All due methodological caution considered, it may be time to revisit the question. See, e.g., Max Gruenewald, "A Rabbinic Parallel to Luke 14,12," 47–8 in *Der Friede: Idee und Verwirklichung—The Search for Peace: Festgabe für Adolf Leschnitzer*, ed. by Erich Fromm and Hans Herzfeld (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1961); John Nolland, "Classical and Rabbinic Parallels to 'Physician, Heal Yourself,' (Lk. iv 23)," *NovT* 21, no. 3 (1979), 193–209; Max E. Wilcox, "Luke 2,36–38, 'Anna bat Phanuel, of the Tribe of Asher, a Prophetess ...': A Study in Midrash in Material Special to Luke," 1571–79 in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, Vol. 2, ed. by F. Van Segbroeck, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992). More recently, R. Steven Notley has repeatedly raised the possibility that Luke made use of Hebrew sources; see, e.g., Notley, "Non-Septuagintal Hebraisms in the Third Gospel: An Inconvenient Truth," 320–346 in *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea: Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels*, Vol. 2, ed. by Randall Buth and R. Steven Notley, *JCPs* 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2014). On the traditions behind the Acts of the Apostles, see Jervell's critique of Dibelius and Haenchen in *Luke and the People of God*, 19–39. On the apparent anti-Jewish tendencies of the Bezaean text-family of Acts, see Eldon J. Epp, "Early Christian Attitudes toward 'Things Jewish' as Narrated by Textual Variants in Acts: A Case Study of the D-Textual Cluster," 141–171 in *Bridging between Sister Religions*, ed. by Isaac Kalimi (Boston: Brill, 2016); and *idem*, "The 'Ignorance Motif' in Acts and Anti-Judaic Tendencies in Codex Bezae," *HTR* 55, no. 1 (1962), 51–62.
- 25 For a convenient collation of the materials unique to Luke's gospel, see Brice C. Jones, *Matthean and Lukan Special Material: A Brief Introduction with Texts in Greek and English* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).
- 26 For a recent review of the state of text-critical scholarship on Luke and Acts, see Dieter T. Roth, "The Text of Luke and Acts: Witnesses, Features, and the Significance of the Textual Traditions," 51–72 in *Issues in Luke-Acts: Selected Essays*, ed. by Sean A. Adams and Michael W. Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).
- 27 On Luke and the Synoptic Problem, see Barbara Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources and Literary Context*, *JSNTSup* 215 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), esp.

Christfried Böttrich's conclusion that the proliferation of source-critical and redaction-critical studies on Luke/Acts ultimately has generated more questions than answers.²⁸ Further, it has long been established that source critics' stated aim of teasing apart the various distinct stages of a text's development is a chimera.²⁹ In fact, it is possible that the initial quest to retrieve the nebulous Jewish sources behind New Testament texts was driven to some extent by an insistence that the authors of the NT could not have depended upon their own insider knowledge of Judaism when composing their texts.³⁰ In addition, I hold a great deal of sympathy for the growing number of academic skeptics of the Q hypothesis, and as a result prefer not to rest the full weight of my research on the scaffolding of the Two-Source theory.³¹ Suffice it to say, my

59–84. See also Mark Goodacre, *The Case Against Q* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002); and John C. Poirier and Jeffrey Peterson, eds., *Marcan Priority without Q: Explorations in the Farrer Hypothesis*, LNTS 455 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), esp. 140–190.

- 28 "Ob diese Stoffe aus schriftlicher oder mündlicher Überlieferung, aus einer Hand oder von verschiedenen Gewährsleuten stammen, lässt sich nicht mehr ermitteln," Böttrich, "Lukas in neuer Perspektive," 117.
- 29 "A naïve belief in the possibility of consistently separating [*Sitz im Leben Jesu*, *Sitz im Leben der Kirche*, and *Sitz im Evangelium*] from one another, or simply peeling off one redactional layer from the next, is hardly viable today," Thomas Kazen, *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism*, ConBNT 45 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 137.
- 30 As Maurice Casey has observed of one particularly famous example: "Again and again [Rudolf Bultmann] and other form critics used absolutely arbitrary declarations that material uncharacteristic of the early church was really created by the early church: again and again they refused to read texts as consecutive wholes: again and again they refused to even examine Gospel passages as if they might derive from Jesus within the environment of Second Temple Judaism ... The effect of their radical criticism was to ensure that out from under the synoptic Gospels there could never crawl a Jewish man," Casey, "Who's Afraid of Jesus Christ? Some Comments on Attempts to Write a Life of Jesus," 129–146 in *Writing History, Constructing Religion*, ed. by James G. Crossley and Christian Karner (London: Ashgate, 2005), 133, emphasis original. On the influence the individual scholar exerts in the selection and interpretation of cultural comparanda, see Jonathan Z. Smith, "On Comparison," 36–53 in *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
- 31 So Christfried Böttrich: "Dieser Konsens beginnt in den letzten Jahren jedoch brüchig zu werden Dazu hat nicht zuletzt eine ausufernde Q-Forschung beigetragen, die mit immer spekulativeren Rekonstruktionen die Kritiker auf den Plan ruft Die aber zeigen sich nun geneigt, nicht nur die wuchernde Q-Hypothese ein bisschen zurückzuschneiden, sondern Q bei der Wurzel zu packen und samt der davon abhängigen Theorie auszureißen," Böttrich, "Lukas in neuer Perspektive," 116. Recently, Matthew Thiessen has taken a much more audacious stance: "I acknowledge that this book will contain an unsatisfying gap in that it does not examine the place of ritual impurity in Q's portrayal of Jesus. Alas, I refuse to write about something that I do not believe existed," Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 6.

project does not stand or fall according to Luke's use of Matthew or Mark (or vice versa).³² Likewise, I am also convinced of the authorial unity of Luke/Acts, despite recent challenges to this long-held view.³³ Despite these challenges, however, as Isaac Oliver has recently argued, both Luke and Acts contain many of the same Jewish features, and their shared historical and theological perspective is so incredibly similar as to warrant reading them as part of the same textual tradition, regardless of any minor stylistic differences between the two works.³⁴

1 On Method

Although my approach to the question of Lukan identity may be construed as *biographical-critical*—that is, centered primarily on the biographical background of the author of Luke/Acts—this approach demands a touch of disciplinary variety.³⁵ Keeping this broader focus in mind, each of the subsequent chapters pursues the question of Luke's Jewishness from markedly different perspectives, thus following Ben Bag-Bag's advice to “turn it over, and again turn it over,” the way a person admires how light dances on a precious gem from various angles. The following research is therefore determinedly *interdisciplinary*. In chapter 1, for example, I glean insights from social memory theory, first developed in the early twentieth century by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and more recently appropriated for the field of New Testament and early Christian studies by Tobias Nicklas, among many others. For Nicklas, the driving concern of social memory approaches to the New Testament is

32 It is noteworthy, however, that Kim Paffenroth's redaction-critical analysis of Luke 3–19 concludes that these chapters contain traces of a “thoroughly Jewish Christian source”. See Kim Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus according to L*, JSNTSup 147 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997).

33 “The literary unity of the Gospel of Luke and Acts remains a plausible assumption,” Carl R. Holladay, *Acts: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2016), 4.

34 “If the author of Acts did not compose the Gospel of Luke, he certainly read and appropriated it in such a way that both volumes now attributed to Luke can be read as the work of one writer,” Isaac Oliver, *Torah Praxis After 70 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 35.

35 I find Robert Brawley's recent comments on the issue of interdisciplinarity extremely helpful here: “Proponents of specific methodologies (historical, literary, sociological, post-structuralist, etc.) often attempt to trump each other. By now it is obvious that the methodology of this study is rather eclectic. Methods should be complementary, although at times philosophical presuppositions behind them may be contradictory,” Robert Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 26.

not whether an event described in an ancient narrative “really happened” in a Rankean sense, but rather *how* and *why* narratives come to represent constructed communal memories and identities. When two or more narratives conflict, it is usually a sign of contested—perhaps even competing—memories of past events.³⁶ This method diverges significantly, however, from that of chapter 5, which draws upon the intersection of cognitive linguistics and social identity theory to determine how Luke’s use of the phrase τὰ ἔθνη (“the nations,” = “gentiles”) differs from that of his near-contemporaries.

Why is an interdisciplinary technique significant to the conclusion that Luke was enculturated within a Jewish setting? Several recent works in the field of biblical studies have defended interdisciplinarity as a favorable method, and a detailed review of those works is not necessary here.³⁷ To name just one example, however, Peter Tomson has argued very recently that diachronic and synchronic readings of ancient texts should no longer be assumed to be diametrically opposed to one another. Alternatively, Tomson proposes a harmonized and collaborative method that yields insight into both the historical context of the final redaction of a text, as well as the broader milieu and traditioning process by which the text came to its final form.³⁸ Similarly, John Wenham, in his analysis of the Church Fathers’ writings on the authorship of Luke and Acts, suggests that his division of the patristic witness into four distinct groupings constitutes a “fourfold tie” that is “considerably stronger than the individual strands.”³⁹ This metaphor of a “fourfold tie” is a helpful framework for collectively conceptualizing the research in the following

36 See, for example, Tobias Nicklas, “New Testament Canon and Ancient Christian ‘Landscapes of Memory,’” *EC* 7, no. 1 (2016): 5–23.

37 See, e.g., Hannah M. Strømme’s defense of interdisciplinarity in “Born-Again Bibles: Biblical Studies after the ‘Death of the Author,’” 94–107 in *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention?: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Authorship and Meaning*, ed. by Clarissa Breu, *BibInt* 172 (Leiden: Brill, 2019). I am also deeply sympathetic to Mark S. Kinzer’s “theological reading” of Luke/Acts as a methodology, which he explains in terms of a fourfold commitment to the “compositional, canonical, covenantal/communal, and world-historical” aspects of Lukan narrative. See Kinzer, *Jerusalem Crucified, Jerusalem Risen*, 7–9.

38 Tomson, “Josephus, Luke-Acts, and Politics in Rome and Judaea by 100 CE,” 427–454 in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE*, ed. by Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2017). On the process by which traditions are formed, maintained, neglected, and abandoned, see Olivier Morin, *How Traditions Live and Die* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

39 John Wenham, “The Identification of Luke,” *EQ* 63, no. 1 (1991), 3–44 (41). Similarly, Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall have argued, “[T]he rich possibilities of the broad interdisciplinary research we include under the rubric of socio-cultural linguistics are most fully realized when multiple dimensions of identity are considered in a single analysis or when complementary analyses are brought together,” Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, “Locating Identity

chapters. Individually, each argument in this book is certainly not without its weaknesses, and any one piece of evidence alone is insufficient to “prove” or “disprove” Luke’s Jewishness. Cumulatively, however, I suggest that they have an effect of being greater than the sum of their parts.⁴⁰

2 A Note on Ἰουδαῖοι: Translation and Categorical Criteria

One of the express aims of this book is to engage in a “foregrounding of backgrounds” so that a plausible alternative icon of a thoroughly Jewish Luke emerges from the pages of Luke/Acts.⁴¹ One may immediately observe, however, that Luke often employs “the Jews” (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) as an antagonistic foil set against the plans of God and the working of the Spirit among the earliest Christ followers. Yet Paul employs the same terminology and rhetoric in 1 Thess 2:14–16, and proponents of neither the New Perspective nor Paul-within-Judaism see in this example any indication that Paul vigorously rejected his own Jewish identity.⁴² This observation, however, raises the further question of terms and definitions related to the study of early Judaism, as well as the criteria for inclusion in such a category.

in Language,” 18–28 in *Language and Identities*, ed. by Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 25.

40 My approach here has been influenced by Roy Bhaskar’s theory of critical realism (not to be confused with theologian Bernard Lonergan’s critical realism, which has been applied to New Testament studies most notably by Ben F. Meyer).

41 See Todd Penner’s critical assessment of methodologies employed by contemporary scholars of ancient Judaism and early Christianity in Penner, “*Die Judenfrage* and the Construction of Ancient Judaism: Toward a Foregrounding of the Backgrounds Approach to Early Christianity,” 429–456 in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, ed. by Patrick Gray and Gail R. O’Day (Boston: Brill, 2008). According to Penner, “[T]he primary methods of investigating early Christianity against its Jewish—Hellenistic or Palestinian—background still proceed along the same fundamental lines as they did at the foundation of the modern discipline of critical study of early Christianity ... Thus, while the political operations and aims have clearly shifted post-Shoah, the mechanisms by which modern scholars on ancient Judaism and Christianity derive their results generally have not” (453).

42 It is possible that 1 Thess 2:14–16 is a later non-Pauline interpolation; see Todd D. Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica: A Pauline Church and Its Neighbours*, JSNTSup 183 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 24–45. For a recent review of the arguments both for and against its authenticity, see Matthew Jensen, “The (In)authenticity of 1 Thessalonians 2:13–16: A Review of Arguments,” *CurBR* 18, no. 1 (2019), 59–79.

The debate over the term Ἰουδαῖοι and how it should be translated (if at all) into English is now nearly a half-century old.⁴³ Steve Mason, Bruce Malina, Raymond Brown, Nathan Thiel, and others have highlighted the problematic nature of tidy expressions like “Jewish-Christian,” “Christian Judaism,” and even “Jew/Judaism” itself.⁴⁴ It is now clear that the border lines between “Judaism” and “Christianity” in antiquity, to the extent that they existed at all, were *highly porous*, as Daniel Boyarin has established. Whenever possible, in this study I try to avoid reducing Jewishness to a single uniform definition, preferring instead to contextualize Luke/Acts within a variety of schema delineated by self-identified Jewish authors in antiquity who wrote on Judaism and Jewishness. To name just one of the many ways in which problematic

43 See Sean Adams's excellent survey of the development of Ἰουδαῖοι-related terms in Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors: Negotiating Literary Culture in the Greco-Roman Era* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020), 3–8.

44 E.g. Malcolm F. Lowe, “Who Were the *Ioudaioi*?” *NovT* 18 (1976), 101–31; Bruce Malina, “Jewish Christianity or Christian Judaism: Toward a Hypothetical Definition,” *JSJ* 7, no. 1 (1976), 46–57; Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38, no. 4/5 (2007), 457–512; Raymond Brown, “Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity,” *CBQ* 45, no. 1 (1983), 74–79; David M. Miller, “The Meaning of *Ioudaios* and Its Relationship to Other Group Labels in Ancient Judaism,” *CurBR* 9, no. 1 (2010), 98–126; *idem*, “Ethnicity Comes of Age: An Overview of Twentieth-Century Terms for *Ioudaios*,” *CurBR* 10, no. 2 (2012), 293–311; *idem*, “Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of *Ioudaios* in Ancient Judaism,” *CurBR* 12, no. 2 (2014), 216–65; Cynthia Baker, “A ‘Jew’ by Any Other Name?” *JAJ* 2 (2011), 153–180; Michael L. Satlow, “Jew or Judaeans?” 165–176 in *The One Who Sows Bountifully: Essays in Honor of Stanley K. Stowers*, ed. by Caroline Johnson Hodge, et al. (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2013); Nathan Thiel, “Israel’ and ‘Jew’ as Markers of Jewish Identity in Antiquity: The Problems of Insider/Outsider Classification,” *JSJ* 45, no. 1 (2014), 80–99; Tobias Nicklas, “Creating the Other: The ‘Jews’ in the Gospel of John: Past and Future Lines of Scholarship,” in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. by Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 49–66; John M.G. Barclay, “Ἰουδαῖος: Ethnicity and Translation,” 46–58 in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts, and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*, ed. by Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell (New York: T&T Clark, 2018). For a critique of Steve Mason's view that the translation of Ἰουδαῖοι as “Jews” constitutes an anachronism, see Tessa Rajak, “The Jewish Diaspora in Greco-Roman Antiquity,” *Int* 72, no. 2 (2018), 147–148. For additional treatment of the issue by Adele Reinhartz, Daniel Schwartz, Annette Yoshiko Reed, Jonathan Klawans, and others mentioned here, see “Jew and Judean: A Forum on Politics and Historiography in the Translation of Ancient Texts,” *Marginalia*, Aug. 26, 2014, <https://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/jew-judean-forum/>. On the political and ethical consequences of translational decisions, see Anthony Le Donne, “Translating Poliscentrism: The Politics of Ethnicity and *Ethnos* Related to Defining *Ioudaios*,” 243–65 in *Found in Translation: Essays on Biblical Translation in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon*, ed. by James W. Barker, Anthony Le Donne, and Joel N. Lohr (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2018).

definitions can influence scholarly perception, consider the view held by many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German biblical critics that Jews were nationalistic, prone to particularism and exclusivity, while Christianity was an inclusive and universalizing religion.⁴⁵ This misapprehension inevitably also seeped into academic studies of Luke/Acts, especially Luke's shaping of the narrative tradition concerning Jesus's parentage. While Matthew recounts the genealogy of Jesus beginning with Abraham, Luke traces Jesus's family line all the way back to Adam; therefore—so the logic goes—Luke is interested in bringing Jesus out from the provincial domain of “Jewish history” into the universal sphere of “world history”. The suggestion that a concern for “universalism” precludes one from being rightly considered Jewish, however, would come as no small surprise to the Jewish author of the second-century BCE *Letter of Aristeas*, who insisted that “all the regulations [of the Mosaic covenant] have been made with righteousness in mind ... to the intent that through the whole of our lives we may also practice justice to all [of humanity] in our acts, remembering the all-sovereign God” (*Arist.* 168).⁴⁶

In addition to a surplus of definitions of Jewishness, contemporary scholars also suffer no shortage of proposed criteria for inclusion in this category. In 1992, Simon Mimouni defined “ancient Judeo-Christianity” as a designation for “Jews who recognized the messiahship of Jesus, who may or may not have

45 This myth is stubbornly persistent, beginning at least as early as Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 3.22.3) and enduring at least as recently as Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*, trans. by Ray Brassier (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003). See Isaac W. Oliver's lengthier treatment in Oliver, *Luke's Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts*, 9–23; Jon D. Levenson, “The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism,” 143–169 in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. by Mark G. Brett (Boston: Brill, 2002); Moshe Weinfeld, “Universalistic and Particularistic Trends during the Exile and Restoration,” 251–266 in Weinfeld, *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, LSTS 54 (London: T&T Clark, 2005); Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, “Jewish Worship and Universal Identity in Philo of Alexandria,” 29–54 in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. by Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gripentrog (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Ellen Birnbaum, “Some Particulars about Universalism,” 117–37 in *Crossing Boundaries in Early Judaism and Christianity: Ambiguities, Complexities, and Half-Forgotten Adversaries: Essays in Honor of Alan F. Segal*, ed. by Kimberly B. Stratton and Andrea Lieber (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Malka Simkovich, *The Making of Jewish Universalism: From Exile to Alexandria* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2017); Anders Runesson, “Beyond Universalism and Particularism: Rethinking Paul and Matthew on Gentile Inclusion,” 99–112 in *Paul and Matthew among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Terence L. Donaldson*, ed. by Ronald Charles (London: T&T Clark, 2021).

46 J. Cornelis de Vos, “Summarizing the Jewish Law in Antiquity: Examples from Aristeas, Philo, and the New Testament,” 191–204 in *The Challenge of Mosaic Torah in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Antti Laato (Boston: Brill, 2020), 195.

recognized the divinity of Christ, but who all continued to observe Torah.”⁴⁷ Recently, David G. Horrell has proposed circumcision, kashrut, and Sabbath observance as the three external markers for Jewishness in antiquity.⁴⁸ Joel Marcus concludes that the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, long recognized for its anti-Jewish slant, in fact originated as a “Jewish Christian document”; Marcus reaches this conclusion by connecting insights gleaned from the patristic reception history of the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* to its recurring internal literary theme of eschatological hope for the Jewish people.⁴⁹ Relying on papyrological data from Hellenistic Jewish communities in Egypt, Stewart Moore observes that the most frequently mentioned ethnic markers of Jewishness in late-antique Egyptian papyri include “most particularly the Shabbat, reverence for the narratives of the Septuagint, and, on at least one occasion, marriage practices.” Moreover, Moore concludes, “What all this does tell us is that Judeans had markers that were important to them, which were not much noticed by Greek observers.”⁵⁰ Peter Tomson, taking an altogether different approach from those mentioned above, argues that the “secret” of Jewish identity rests

not in the substance itself, but in its specific selection, its combination, its structure. Judaism articulates itself in form, not matter ... If the subject matter of Philo’s expositions is borrowed from a range of Greek and Hellenistic sources, its organization is Jewish. This is stating the primary significance of the halakha. Halakha organizes and structures life into Jewish life. Structuring Philo’s life, it stamped his Hellenistic philosophy as being Jewish.⁵¹

Defending the term “Jewish Christian” while avoiding the imposition of “necessary and sufficient traits that would constitute the category of Jewish

47 “Le judéo-christianisme ancien est une formulation récente désignant des juifs qui ont reconnu la messianité de Jésus, qui ont reconnu ou qui n’ont pas reconnu la divinité du Christ, mais qui tous continuent à observer la Torah,” Simon C. Mimouni, “Pour une définition nouvelle du judéo-christianisme ancien,” *NTS* 38, no. 2 (1992), 161–186 (184).

48 David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), esp. 155–61.

49 Joel Marcus, “The Gospel of Peter as a Jewish Christian Document,” *NTS* 64, no. 4 (2018), 473–494.

50 Stewart Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 76.

51 Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 42–43.

Christianity,”⁵² Petri Luomanen instead identifies the following “indicators of Jewish profiles”: 1) The presence of characteristically Jewish *practices* such as circumcision, Sabbath observance, and purity laws; 2) The presence of characteristically Jewish *ideas* such as Yahwistic monotheism, the Temple as the locus of God’s divine presence, and reverence for Torah; and 3) A collective or individual Jewish pedigree.⁵³ These few examples are drawn from descriptions of Jewish identity found especially in Josephus (e.g., *Ag. Ap.* 2.190–219), Philo of Alexandria (*Spec. Laws; Hypoth.* 7), and other late-antique Jewish literary works like the *Sentences* of Pseudo-Phocylides. As I argue in the following chapters, the author of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles embraced nearly all these various criteria.⁵⁴

Luke was a self-confessed tradent, a follower of the Way who had “a thoroughly informed familiarity with all the events from the top” (Luke 1:3).⁵⁵ Yet Luke also undeniably makes use of ancient Greco-Roman historiographical conventions, as well, a feature of Lukan narrative that has cut its own well-worn path of research.⁵⁶ Decidedly fewer scholars, however, have compared the form and function of Luke/Acts to the conventions of Hellenistic

52 “An overview of the latest attempts to define the term allows only one conclusion: There is no generally accepted and accurately definable meaning for the term ‘Jewish-Christianity,’” Petri Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects and Gospels* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 8.

53 For the sake of space, I have only included here Luomanen’s indicators for the pertinent “Jewish” half of the phrase “Jewish Christianity.” See Luomanen, *Recovering Jewish-Christian Sects*, 8–14, esp. 11.

54 See my discussion of Luke/Acts within the context of “common Judaism” in chapter 5 below. See also George P. Carras, “Jewish Sensibilities and the Search for the Jewish Paul—The Lukan Paul Viewed through Josephine Judaism: Interplay with *Apion* 2.190–219,” 167–178 in *The Early Reception of Paul the Second Temple Jew: Text, Narrative and Reception History*, ed. by Isaac W. Oliver and Gabriele Boccaccini (London: T&T Clark, 2018).

55 See David P. Moessner’s study of the perfect participle *παρηκολούθησάντι* in Luke’s prologue. Moessner, “Luke as Tradent and Hermeneut,” *NovT* 58 (2016), 259–300.

56 Very recently, see John J. Peters, “Luke’s Source Claims in the Context of Ancient Historiography,” *JSHJ* 18 (2020), 35–60. On the genre of Luke/Acts, see Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History*, 21–56; and Sean A. Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors: Negotiating Literary Culture in the Greco-Roman Era* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020); but see also Susan Docherty’s astute observations in “The Reception of Tobit in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature, with Special Reference to Luke-Acts,” 81–94 in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Essays in Honour of Maarten J. J. Menken*, ed. by Bart J. Koet, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), esp. 92. On recent developments in gospel genre theory, see Elizabeth E. Shively, “Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark’s Gospel,” *CBQ* 80, no. 2 (2018), 273–292; and Robert Matthew Calhoun, David P. Moessner, and Tobias Nicklas, eds., *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, WUNT 451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

Jewish historiography, with which Luke and Acts both share a surprising number of commonalities.⁵⁷

One of the most recent and notable comparisons of Luke/Acts with Jewish texts of the Second-Temple era may be found in the work of Kylie Crabbe. Against Conzelmann's thesis in *Die Mitte der Zeit* (1954) that Luke sought to minimize the eschatological dimension of the early Jesus tradition, Crabbe argues instead that Luke's teleological view of history is crucial for rightly understanding his eschatology.⁵⁸ According to Crabbe, Luke's belief in a linear history that will one day be brought to a decisive conclusion distinguishes his work from that of other Greco-Roman historiographers in antiquity, who tended to view history as cyclical, eternal, and driven largely by the impersonal divine forces of fate or fortune—two concepts that are almost entirely absent from both Luke and Acts.⁵⁹ Significantly, Crabbe's analysis reveals that while Luke's eschatological history may have been out of step with his pagan contemporaries, his narratives share a much stronger affinity with Jewish historical works like 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and even the War Scroll.

Moreover, with respect to Luke's Greek and his level of education, Osvaldo Padilla has recently challenged the long-held view that the quality of Luke's writing reveals an author highly skilled in the art of Greco-Roman rhetoric.⁶⁰ Padilla bases this argument upon two signature skills derived from the *progymnasmata* tradition, an elite tertiary level of literary education: 1) speech construction, and 2) intertextuality with classical literature.⁶¹ Somewhat shockingly, Padilla's study determines that the author of Luke/Acts likely possessed low proficiency in *both* of these signature skills, and concludes his study by supporting Loveday Alexander's judgment that Luke was educated in a diaspora Jewish synagogue.⁶²

57 See esp. Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2.366 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); and Christfried Böttrich, "Das lukanische Doppelwerk im Kontext frühjüdischer Literatur," *ZNW* 106, no. 2 (2015), 151–183.

58 Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History*, BZNW 238 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

59 Ibid., 135–204; 337.

60 Osvaldo Padilla, "Hellenistic παιδεία and Luke's Education: A Critique of Recent Approaches," *NTS* 55 (2009), 416–37.

61 On Luke's knowledge of the *progymnasmata*, see Mikeal C. Parsons, "Luke and the *Progymnasmata*: A Preliminary Investigation into the Preliminary Exercises," in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*, ed. by Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele (Atlanta: SBL, 2003).

62 See Loveday Alexander, "Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio: Albert Wifstrand and the Language of Luke-Acts," 232–52 in *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, idem (London: T&T Clark, 2005).

Importantly, however, I also prefer not to essentialize any of these markers of Jewishness and thereby reduce Judaism to a single set of generalized identifiable traits. I am wary of dissecting “Jew” and “non-Jew” too neatly into a categorical false binary. Oddly enough, so was the author of Luke and Acts. While later Christian writers like Justin Martyr may have been self-consciously and even proudly gentile, Luke gives us no indication that the same was true for himself. Rather, it is possible that the author of Luke/Acts transgressed the boundaries between porous identities like Ivan Bondarev, a nineteenth-century convert from Judaism to Christianity while continuing to keep *tzizit* and the daily prayers of his Jewish roots.⁶³

3 Chapter Summary

Even less is known about the early transmission of Luke and Acts than the other Synoptic Gospels and John, particularly the history of their reception before Irenaeus’s *Adversus haereses* (ca. 175–180 CE). This raises serious doubt concerning the traditional ascription of Luke/Acts to the supposedly gentile “beloved physician” of Col 4:14. Further complicating the issue are the various alternative speculations regarding the authorship of Luke/Acts before the fifth century, among them the identification of Luke with the “Lucius” of either Acts 13:1 or Rom 16:21 (e.g. Origen and Ephrem the Syrian), the tradition that numbers Luke among the Seventy(-Two) apostles sent out by Jesus in Luke 10:1 (Epiphanius, the Hippolytean Apostles List), and the description of the author as “one zealous for the law” found in the Muratorian fragment. Building upon the recent reception-critical work of Andrew Gregory, in chapter 2 I trace the threads of the many and various developing traditions concerning Lukan authorship in antiquity. After sifting the textual evidence both from the NT and early patristic writers, it is clear that little historical warrant exists to substantiate the belief that Luke was a gentile. Following this conclusion, and drawing from Pierre Nora’s *Les lieux de mémoire* and Tobias Nicklas’s appropriation of Nora’s social memory work for NT studies, I propose an alternative theory for why Luke came to be “remembered” as a gentile by later Christian writers, namely, that gentile Christians considered the gentile portrait of Luke to be useful in their polemical and apologetic encounters with early Jewish thought.

63 This is not to suggest that Luke ever abandoned his loyalty to Jesus as the Jewish messiah, but rather to highlight the fact that like Bondarev, Luke seems to resist overly tidy classification by modern scholars. For more on the story of Ivan Bondarev and the challenge his example poses to essentializing identities, see Klaus Hödl, “Defying the Binary: Relationships between Jews and Non-Jews,” *JJI* 13, no. 1 (2020), 107–124.

After deconstructing the tradition by which Luke comes to be known as a gentile physician, only then does it seem appropriate to begin fashioning a more plausible portrait of the author based on his texts. Yet is this biographical-critical task even possible in the first place, or must “Luke the gentile” humbly retreat before “Luke the author-function”? Employing Seán Burke’s critique of Wimsatt and Beardsley, Roland Barthes, and Michel Foucault, in chapter 3 I propose that it is in fact possible to glean hints about the authorship of Luke/Acts from within the text itself. While decidedly *not* an argument for the recoverability of “authorial intent,” I nonetheless conclude that an author is never wholly separable from the text she creates, and that autobiographical and subjective traits of the author herself are inevitably left behind as a kind of residue within the text.

In chapter 4 I begin to build the case that Luke was likely a Jew of the Hellenistic Diaspora, starting with Luke’s skillful exegesis of Israel’s scriptures. In contrast with scholars who claim that Luke’s use of the Old Testament reveals a strong tendency toward anti-Judaism, I instead cast doubt on the notion that a non-Jewish author would have shared Luke’s encyclopedic grasp of Jewish narrative tradition, as well as the conceptual theological framework for making this tradition dovetail into the emergent theology of the early Jesus movement. Inspired by the pioneering work of Jacob Jervell, I argue that Luke’s interpretation of Jewish scripture reveals an author deeply concerned with demonstrating how gentiles have been *grafted onto* the Abrahamic promise already belonging to Israel (to appropriate a Pauline metaphor).

In chapter 5 I analyze one of the dominant narrative themes of Luke/Acts, namely, Luke’s commitment to the fulfillment and preservation of Jewish Law. After examining Luke’s account of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 according to Jewish beliefs about moral impurity and festival observance in the Second Temple period, I conclude that Luke’s treatment of issues related to Torah praxis fits remarkably well within the paradigm of the “common Judaism” first proposed by E.P. Sanders. While this observation alone does not constitute definitive evidence for Luke’s Jewishness, I argue that it nonetheless shifts the burden of proof upon those who would insist that Luke was a gentile therefore to explain 1) Why the author of Luke/Acts so enthusiastically defends the Law from its critics; 2) Why he suggests that Jews—including and especially Jewish followers of the Way—must remain Torah-observant; and also 3) How Luke came to possess such a nuanced grasp of Jewish legal obligations in the first place.

Finally, in chapter 6 I take a markedly different approach to the overarching hypothesis of the book than that of previous chapters. Employing recent research in the field of cognitive linguistics and social identity theory, I attempt to answer a provocative question first posed by Marilyn Salmon thirty years ago:

If the term “gentile” (ἔθνος) is a Jewish “insider” term used in reference to non-Jewish “outsiders,” and if gentiles would have little cause to refer to themselves as such, why would Luke employ the term so frequently throughout Luke/Acts if he had been born, raised, and educated in a non-Jewish community where the term would have been essentially meaningless? Engaging the work of cognitive linguists such as Ronald Langacker, George Lakoff, William Croft, and D. Alan Cruse, I attempt to reconstruct an Idealized Cognitive Model of Luke’s embedded beliefs about non-Jews, which may then be compared to the use of the same terms among the writings of other early gentile-Christians. I conclude that the assumptions about gentiles Luke acquired from his upbringing were noticeably distinct from those of his contemporary counterparts, especially Ignatius and Justin Martyr.

Lastly, I conclude with a brief ethical reflection on why I believe my overarching thesis to be vitally important considering the recent and sudden rise of white-nationalist and anti-Jewish hate groups in the U.S. and in Europe. As Susannah Heschel has shown, anti-Jewish biblical scholarship produced by late nineteenth and early twentieth-century German critics played a significant role in the rise of Nazism and in rallying German Christian support for the Third Reich. As I hope will become clear by the end of this work, the recent surge in anti-Jewish prejudice and violence in the West is a relentless reminder that the study of biblical texts—and the living traditions they inspired—is never an inconsequential matter.

“With the disintegration of history-memory,” Pierre Nora observed, “a new type of historian emerges who, unlike his precursors, is ready to confess the intimate relation he maintains to his subject. Better still, he is ready to proclaim it, deepen it, make of it not the obstacle but the means of his understanding.”⁶⁴ While I do not and cannot claim to be an historian in any genuine sense of the word, I nonetheless share a profound investment in my chosen subject, and in particular a concern for the safety and prosperity of Jewish people, especially in our present time of political, social, and moral upheaval. It is my hope, then, that my relation to this subject indeed has become not an obstacle, but the means of my further understanding—not only of my own faith, but also that of Jewish people in antiquity as well as the present.

64 Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations* 26 (1989), 18.

“As One Zealous for the Law”: Lukan Authorship in Early Christian Memory

In France ... historiography is iconoclastic and irreverent ... It operates primarily by introducing doubt, by running a knife between the tree of memory and the bark of history.

PIERRE NORA, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*”



What evidence external to the text of Luke/Acts might suggest that the author of these two narratives was a gentile? It is my aim in this chapter—to borrow a phrase from French historian Pierre Nora—to “run a knife between the tree of memory and the bark of history.”¹ By doing so, I hope to offer a possible explanation for the emergence of an idea that has so permeated scholarly thought about Luke and Acts that by 1957 C.F.D. Moule could casually and confidently declare Luke to be “the only *known* gentile writer of scripture.”² The first half of my argument proceeds from two observations: First, verifiable textual evidence for Lukan authorship in the period before Irenaeus’s *Adversus haereses* (ca. 175–180 CE) is virtually non-existent. Second, traditions concerning Luke the Evangelist from Irenaeus onward are frustratingly ambiguous, often irreconcilably at odds with one another. While it is true that the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are universally attributed to someone named “Luke” by the early tradition,³ virtually every other detail of Luke’s biography displays a remarkable degree of *plasticity*, an openness to innovation, contestation, and

1 Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations* 26 (1989), 10.

2 C.F.D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and Philemon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 26, emphasis added. See also Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 149–50: “The only thing that can be said with certainty about the author, on the basis of Luke, is that he was a gentile Christian.”

3 I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 33–34.

revision. A closer look at the primary sources reveals a complicated reception history that demands we revisit overly confident prior claims that Luke was a gentile.

In the second half of this chapter, I will draw upon social memory theory to suggest one possible reason for *why* Luke's identity has such a tangled reception history. Employing Pierre Nora's concept of *les lieux de mémoire* ("sites of memory"), I suggest that gentile Christians from the second century onward may have found the idea of a gentile Luke useful in their polemical and apologetic encounters with early Jewish communities. In the hands of patristic Christian writers, the Third Gospel and Acts became ideological tools for shaping a Christian identity distinct from its Jewish origins. These conclusions subsequently open up space for a constructive analysis of Lukan authorial identity from within the text of Luke/Acts itself.

1 The Early Reception of Lukan Authorship

How is it that Luke came to be remembered as non-Jewish by Christians in the second and third centuries and beyond? Most substantive commentaries tend to give only a cursory glance at the possibility of Luke's Jewishness before quickly arriving at the long-held traditional view that the author was a gentile Christian writing for a mostly gentile-Christian audience.⁴ Other scholars delicately side-step the issue,⁵ or avoid any discussion of Luke's ethno-religious

4 Fairly typical is I. Howard Marshall, *Luke*, 33–35. For a few notable recent exceptions, however, see David E. Garland, *Luke*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011); James R. Edwards, *The Gospel According to Luke*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015); Michael Wolter, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2 vols., trans. by Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig, BMSSEC (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016); Pablo T. Gadenz, *The Gospel of Luke*, CCSS (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2018); Robert L. Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (London: T&T Clark, 2020); and Linda M. Maloney with Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Acts of the Apostles*, Wisdom Commentary 45 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2022), lv.

5 "Luke's ethnic identity is less important for interpretation than acknowledging that he situates the Christian community within the larger Jewish debate about self-identity." Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts*, PCNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 6–7; See also Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 20: "This commentary proceeds under the assumption that our ability or inability to identify the author of the Third Gospel is unimportant to its interpretation." In this book I intend to show exactly what is at stake in the debate over Lukan identity—and thus just how important the author's identity is to the interpretation of his two-volume work.

identity altogether.⁶ The most recent commentary to dedicate any extended conversation to the question of Luke's ethnicity is that of Joseph Fitzmyer, who, relying on evidence from the reception history of Luke and Acts in the second and third centuries, concluded that Luke was a Semitic gentile Christian from Syrian Antioch.⁷

Andrew Gregory, synthesizing the methodologies of Helmut Koester,⁸ Edouard Massaux,⁹ and W.D. Köhler¹⁰ for determining literary dependence among ancient texts, recently concluded that little can be known about the early transmission of Luke and Acts, particularly regarding their reception before Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* (ca. 175–180).¹¹ It is also far from certain, according to Gregory, that patristic writers *after* Irenaeus were not drawing on Irenaeus himself as a source in their expanding upon Luke's biography.¹² Gregory's study is careful and methodologically conservative. Yet Gregory also never adequately accounts for *why* the "Lucas" of the New Testament came to be associated with the Third Gospel and Acts in the first place—an assumption which cannot be made by relying upon NT texts alone.

6 Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel*, Revised ed. (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2002); Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991).

7 Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke 1–IX*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 35–62. Yet Fitzmyer appeals to early Christian tradition as its own evidence: "A reason for the identification of the author as Luke is the long-standing church tradition" (37). Cf. Carl R. Holladay, *Acts: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2016), "The traditional view of Lukan authorship of Acts may have made it a more credible witness to the apostolic faith, but it has some problematic features" (4).

8 Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957); see also Koester, "Written Gospels or Oral Tradition?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 113, no. 2 (1994), 293–97.

9 Edouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, 3 vols, ed. by Arthur J. Bellinzoni, trans. by Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1990–1993).

10 W.D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987).

11 Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period Before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century*, WUNT 169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

12 Ibid, 53.

2 Λουκάς in the New Testament

The author of Luke/Acts never announces his personal identity in either of his works.¹³ There are, however, three references to a Λουκάς (Lucas) elsewhere in the New Testament: Phlm 24; 2 Tim 4:11; and Col 4:14.¹⁴ In Philemon, a Lucas is numbered among Paul's "coworkers" (συνεργοί) along with Marcus, Aristarchus, and Demas. In 2 Timothy, after lamenting that Demas, Crescens, and Titus have abandoned him, Paul discloses that "Lucas alone is with me" (Λουκάς ἐστὶν μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ). Lastly, the most relevant piece of canonical evidence comes from the greetings list of Col 4:10–17. Here, Paul shares with the Colossian assembly a greeting from "Lucas, the beloved physician" (Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκάς ὁ ἰατρός ὁ ἀγαπητός, 4:14). A few verses earlier, however, he describes Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus as "the only ones of the circumcision among my coworkers for the kingdom of God" (vv.10–11, NRSV). At first glance, it appears that Lucas's absence from Paul's list of circumcised coworkers clearly rules out the possibility that he was Jewish. Based on these three texts, ancient and modern commentators alike have concluded that at least three things can be known

13 Though see A.J. Droge's argument that the authorship of Luke/Acts represents a "different kind of pseudepigraphy" in which the author does not claim to be someone they are not, but instead crafts their text in such a way that suggests the author was an eyewitness to the events narrated for the purpose of lending verisimilitude and credibility to the story. A.J. Droge, "Did 'Luke' Write Anonymously?: Linger at the Threshold," in *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie*, ed. Jörg Frey, Clare K. Rothschild, and Jens Schröter (Boston: De Gruyter, 2009), 495–518. For the debate over when titles came to be associated with the gospels and the reliability of those traditions, see Martin Hengel, "The Titles of the Gospels and the Gospel of Mark," in *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, ed. by Martin Hengel (London: SCM Press, 1985); François Bovon, "The Synoptic Gospels and the Non-Canonical Acts of the Apostles," *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988), 19–36; Michael Wolter, "Die anonymen Schriften des Neuen Testaments: Annäherungsversuch an ein literarisches Phänomen," *ZNW* 79 (1988), 1–16; and Armin Baum, "The Anonymity of the New Testament History Books: A Stylistic Device in the Context of Greco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," *NovT* 50, no. 2 (2008), 120–142; For a recent critique of the argument that the absence of authorial self-reference in the gospels demands the conclusion that they were written anonymously, see Simon Gathercole, "The Alleged Anonymity of the Canonical Gospels," *JTS* 69.2 (2018), 447–476.

14 Note, however, that only one of these references is from the undisputed Pauline corpus.

about the attributed author of Luke and Acts: 1) He was a companion of Paul; 2) He was a physician (ἰατρός);¹⁵ and 3) He was a gentile.¹⁶

Yet there are several reasons why it would be inappropriate to leap to a definitive conclusion about Luke's ethnicity based on the evidence of Col 4:14 alone.¹⁷ First, it should be noted that the Pauline authorship of Colossians has long been a matter of dispute,¹⁸ which at the very least should compel readers

- 15 The argument that the vocabulary of Luke and Acts reveals an author familiar with Greco-Roman medical terminology was first advanced by W.K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1882). Hobart's contention was further supported by Adolf Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, trans. by J.R. Wilkinson (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), see esp. 175–198. In 1920, however, Henry Cadbury effectively discredited this theory in a survey of the language of Greek medical texts, finding little evidence to support the claims of either Hobart or Harnack; see Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard University Press, 1920; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001), 39–64. In a later tongue-in-cheek essay, Cadbury noted that the vocabulary of Luke and Acts in fact shares more in common with the writings of ancient veterinarians; see Cadbury, "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts v.: Luke and the Horse-Doctors," *JBL* 52, no. 1 (1933), 55–65. Yet it is also important to note that Cadbury's work does not necessarily invalidate the argument that Luke may have been a physician. Rather, it concludes only that the author of Luke/Acts cannot be said to have been a physician based on the *vocabulary* of Luke and Acts alone; see W.F. Albright, "Appendix 1," in Johannes Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 265.
- 16 Moule, *Colossians and Philemon*, 25; F.F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 180–181; Ernest Daniel Martin, *Colossians, Philemon*, BCBC (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1993), 214; Douglas Moo, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 337.
- 17 I am grateful to Jonathan Bernier and Bill Heroman for helping me refine the following argument in a series of private messages on Feb. 28, 2019.
- 18 I have opted to refer to the author(s) of Colossians and 2 Timothy as "Paul" for the sake of simplicity. Wolter believes that both epistles were written after Paul's death using the Apostle's greeting list found in Phlm. 24, and that Col 4:10–14 and 2 Tim 4:11 can therefore be discounted out-of-hand as admissible evidence; Michael Wolter, *The Gospel According to Luke* Vol. 1, trans. by Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig, BMSSEC (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 7; see also Wolter, *Der Brief an die Kolosser Der Brief an Philemon*, ÖTK 12 (Gütersloher, DE: Gerd Mohn, 1993), 27–33. Admittedly, I am not quite able to share Wolter's perspective with the same level of confidence. For a brief explanation attempting to "reduce the distance" between authentic Pauline authorship and deuterio-Pauline authorship, see Talbert, *Ephesians and Colossians*, 7–9, 246–247. For a cogent review of the debate over the authorship of Colossians, see Nijay Gupta, "What is in a Name? The Hermeneutics of Authorship Analysis Concerning Colossians," *CurBR* 11, no. 2 (2013), 196–217. Cynthia Long Westfall has recently concluded that 2 Timothy ought to be studied separately from 1 Timothy, and that discourse analysis might lead us to reconsider its

to exercise caution when inferring anything from this letter about what we might call “the historical Luke.” Second, however, even if we assume Colossians to be authentically Pauline, the syntax of Col 4:10–11 is famously ambiguous:

Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου καὶ Μάρκος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Βαρναβᾶ (περὶ οὗ ἐλάβετε ἐντολὰς, ἐὰν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δέξασθε αὐτόν) καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούστος, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οἵτινες ἐγενήθησάν μοι παρηγορία.

My fellow prisoner Aristarchus greets you all and [also] Marcus the cousin of Barnabas (concerning whom you have received orders, if he comes to you all, receive him) and Jesus who is called Justus, the ones who are from the circumcision, these [are my] only coworkers for the Kingdom of God, who have been a solace to me.¹⁹

The precise meaning of οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς (lit. “the ones being from the circumcision”) here is uncertain.²⁰ Paul could be using the phrase

place in the Pauline corpus. See Cynthia Long Westfall, “A Moral Dilemma?: The Epistolary Body of 2 Timothy,” in *Paul and the Ancient Letter Form*, ps 6, ed. by Stanley E. Porter and Sean A. Adams (Boston: Brill, 2010), 213–52. Finally, Vicky Balabanski has shown that the greetings lists in Phlm and Col do not necessarily contradict one another, and therefore readers ought not to dismiss the idea that Paul was closely tied to the composition of the latter epistle; see Balabanski, “Where is Philemon? The Case for a Logical Fallacy in the Correlation of the Data in Philemon and Colossians 1:1–2; 4:7–18,” *JSNT* 38, no. 2 (2015), 144–45. In any case, whether or not Paul was personally responsible for the composition of either of these letters makes little qualitative difference to my argument.

19 I have retained the punctuation of the NA28. Note how the punctuation of the NRSV makes an interpretive difference: “And Jesus who is called Justus greets you. These are the only ones of the circumcision among my co-workers for the kingdom of God, and they have been a comfort to me.” Cf. the punctuation of the KJV, which is closer to the NA28 reconstruction: “And Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only are my fellow workers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort to me.” Moule notes that “it is not quite clear (nor very important)” how this passage should be punctuated (*Colossians and Philemon*, 137). Yet the way translators choose which clauses to set apart in this sentence does indeed make a crucial difference in how οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς is read, and therefore ultimately influences whether we understand the περιτομῆς to mean Jews in general, or a contentious faction of Jewish-Christian proselytizers.

20 Note the absence of the article in the phrase ἐκ περιτομῆς. Albright, citing a private conversation with Leona Running, offers the only explanation I have been able to find as to why the phrase should read “those *from* the circumcision” rather than simply “those *of* circumcision”: “[Running] points out that some grammarians have spoken of the ‘qualitative force of the use of a Greek noun without article. The term in question is rather ambivalent, so it may be preferable to call it a syntactic device to give adjectival meaning

periphrastically to signify Jewishness in general, but this creates several possible readings that each lead, ultimately, to a self-defeating conclusion. Additionally, much depends on the interpretation of the word *μόνοι* (“alone/only”), which translators tend to group together with the previous clause, so that Aristarchus,²¹ Marcus, and Justus are understood to be Paul’s only circumcised coworkers (i.e., “These are the only ones of the circumcision among my coworkers for the kingdom of God,” NRSV). If we understand the phrase “the ones who are from the circumcision” to be a circumlocution for “Jews,” however, then Paul’s statement is obviously false, since he quite clearly collaborated with many other Jewish missionary partners, including Silas (Acts 15:22), Prisca and Aquila (Acts 18:1–2; Rom 16:3),²² Andronicus and Junia (Rom 16:7),²³ Apollos (1 Cor 3:5–6; cf. Acts 18:24), and perhaps even Timothy,²⁴

to a construction containing an anarthrous noun,” Albright, “Appendix 1: Luke’s Ethnic Background,” in Munck, *Acts*, 266.

- 21 Most interpreters assume that Paul includes Aristarchus among the οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, e.g., Campbell, *Colossians and Philemon* 73; Moule, *Colossians and Philemon*, 25; Bruce, *Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians*, 178; Talbert, *Ephesians and Colossians*, 241. Yet even this point is unclear. In Acts, for instance, Aristarchus first appears in group that includes several gentile men (Acts 20:4), and in Acts 27:2 he is described as “a Macedonian from Thessalonica”. See Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, 4th ed., trans. by Lionel R.M. Strachan (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 438n3.
- 22 Note that in addition to Prisca and Aquila’s Jewishness, Paul also describes them in Rom 16:3 as τοὺς συνεργούς μου (“my coworkers”).
- 23 Paul describes Andronicus and Junia as τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου, “my relatives,” or “my compatriots.”
- 24 Timothy’s ethnic status has been the subject of considerable debate for the last four decades. Against the traditional view that sees Timothy’s ethnicity determined by his Jewish mother rather than by his Greek father (cf. Acts 16:1–3), David Daube, Shaye Cohen, et al. have argued that the genealogical principle of matrilineal descent was not a widely agreed upon calculus until later in the rabbinic period, and that reading this concept into Acts 16 is thus anachronistic. See, e.g., Shaye J.D. Cohen, “Was Timothy Jewish?” in *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 363–77. More recently, however, Matthew Thiessen has demonstrated that matrilineal descent was in fact held by some Jews in the Second Temple period, and that Timothy’s identity therefore remains indeterminable: “It is fatal for [Cohen’s] interpretation that Luke portrays Paul circumcising someone whom everyone thought was a gentile immediately after the Jerusalem Council, which determined that gentile believers were not to be circumcised. ... Difficulties arise regardless of whether one concludes that Luke portrays Timothy as a Jew or a gentile.” Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 121. I am inclined to agree with Thiessen on this point. Furthermore, given that the author of Acts lists Timothy’s Jewish mother first and then employs the contrasting conjunction δὲ before describing Timothy’s father as Greek, it appears that even the author is not unaware of the ambiguity of Timothy’s particular case. Likewise, Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations* 70–147, critiques readings of Timothy’s identity in Acts that reduce

the presumed co-author of the very letter in which the claim appears (Col 1:1; cf. Acts 16:1–3).²⁵

Syntactically, however, *μόνοι* appears not to be modifying the phrase *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς*, but rather the word *συνεργοὶ* (“coworkers”). In this reading, the phrase *οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* would therefore be understood as a separate clause from *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς*, indicating that Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus (the ones who are from the circumcision) are Paul’s *only coworkers* for the Kingdom of God.²⁶ Yet this too would be a puzzling statement, since Paul also worked with many other individuals whom he designates as “coworkers,” including, among others, Apollos (1 Cor 3:9), Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3), Timothy (1 Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21), Titus (2 Cor 8:23), Philemon (Phlm 1), and—most problematic for this interpretation—Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, and Lucas (Phlm 24).²⁷

The likelier explanation is that *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς* designates a specific faction of Christian-Jewish proselytizers who held circumcision to be a requisite condition for inclusion in the assembly (Acts 10:45; 11:2). By this reading, Justus, Marcus, and Aristarchus are understood to be the only men whom Paul considers his collaborative missionary partners from among a ritually strict group

the question of his hybrid ethnicity to whether Timothy would have been considered a Jew or a gentile. At the very least, Cohen’s confidence seems unwarranted that “the plain meaning of Acts 16:3 is fairly clear” in identifying the underlying reason for the controversy. See also Oskar Skarsaune, “The Circumcision of Timothy,” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries*, ed. by Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 135–9; and Paul Heger, “Patrilineal or Matrilineal Genealogy in Israel after Ezra,” *JSJ* 43, no. 2 (2012), 215–48, who critiques Cohen’s arguments regarding the constitution of Jewish identity.

- 25 Bruce, *Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians* 180n51, claims that Timothy may not be listed among Paul’s Jewish co-workers here precisely because he is a named co-author of the letter. This is certainly *possible*, but Paul refers to Timothy in the third person in other letters also cowritten by Timothy (2 Cor 2:19; Phil 2:19–23; 1 Thess 3:2, 6), and so likely would have had little reason not to mention him among the *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς* if by this phrase he meant “any circumcised male.”
- 26 Yet another possibility, not entertained here, is that *συνεργός* is for Paul a technical designation for a defined role in the church. E. Earle Ellis, “Coworkers, Paul and His,” 183–89 in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. by Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid (Downer’s Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993): “Coworkers, workers (*ergatai*) and ‘those who toil’ (*hoi kopiontes*) usually are virtually equivalent idioms for a specific group or class and are not used of believers generally,” 183.
- 27 Paul additionally describes the following individuals as *συνεργοὶ*: Euodia, Syntyche, and Clement (Phil 4:2–4), and Urbanus (Rom 16:9). See Leonce F. Rambau, “Paul and His Co-Workers: Equality in Pauline Letters” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2015), 330.

of circumcised Christian Jews.²⁸ Other than Col 4:11, the phrase ἐκ περιτομῆς occurs five times elsewhere throughout the NT: Acts 10:45; Acts 11:2; Rom 4:12; Gal 2:12; and Titus 1:10.²⁹ Among these references, a distinctive Jewish sect or subgroup is the focus in Acts 11:2, Gal 2:12,³⁰ and Titus 1:10.³¹ The group mentioned in Acts 10:45 is a bit more ambiguous and could possibly refer to Jews in a general sense, but if this group is meant to be understood as the same

- 28 E. Earle Ellis envisions these three men as members of a rival missionary effort who were nevertheless “pursuing their distinctive missions in a cooperative fashion” alongside Paul. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 124.
- 29 Ellis identifies a range of different lexical meanings for ἐκ περιτομῆς within the NT and early Christian literature: “The phrase οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς appears in the New Testament at Acts 10:45; 11:2, 18 (ritually strict Jewish Christians, some with Judaizing and/or segregationist tendencies); Rom 4:12 (Jews and Jewish Christians); Gal 2:12 (ritually strict Jewish Christians with segregationist or judaizing tendencies); Col 4:11 (ritually strict but not judaizing Jewish Christians); Titus 1:10 (gnosticizing Judaizers with ascetic and probably immoral practices). Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 1.3: Trypho is an Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς. The ‘Gospel of the *Hebraioi*,’ which appears in the first half of the second century, reflects a Jewish Gnosticism with an emphasis on angelic powers ... The canonical letter ‘to the *Hebraioi*’ addresses a ritually strict, Jewish Christian group that may tend to exalt angelic powers (Heb 1:4, 13f.; 2:5),” Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 111n105. I am not quite convinced that such a diverse and precise range of identification is possible, but Ellis’s broader point nonetheless is well taken.
- 30 “The division of labor between Peter and Paul in Gal 2:7ff is usually understood of a Jewish and a gentile mission. But Paul never regards his mission as limited to gentiles (1 Cor 9:20; 2 Cor 11:22f; Acts, *passim*). It is possible, therefore, that ‘the circumcision’ also is only a special sector of the mission of Peter and James and, like Gal 2:12, refers not to Jews in general but to ritually strict Hebrews,” Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 124n32, emphasis original.
- 31 Contra Richard Pervo, *Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 284n209. See also Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 362. F.J. Foakes Jackson *The Acts of the Apostles* (New York, NY: Harper, 1931), 97, claims that Acts 11:2 is used in the same sense as Gal 2:12, but connects Acts 10:45 with Col 4:11 as referring to “Jews” in general. Unfortunately, he offers no criteria by which he arrived at this judgment. For the intriguing theory that the “ones who are of the circumcision” and the Sicarii emerge from the same faction of ritually strict Essenes at Qumran, see Robert Eisenman, “‘Sicarii Essenes,’ ‘The Party of the Circumcision,’ and Qumran,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović (Boston: Brill, 2007), 247–260. On the phenomenon of “judaizing” by gentile Christians in the early church, see Michele Murray, *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE*, SCJ 13 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), esp. 32ff. For a narrative-critical perspective arguing that Luke’s understanding of the “circumcision faction” controversy in Acts 11 reflects the views of a “proto-heresiologist,” see Joshua D. Garroway, “The Pharisee Heresy: Circumcision for Gentiles in the Acts of the Apostles,” *NTS* 60 (2014), 20–36.

mentioned a few verses later in 11:2, then it is likely that this text refers to a “circumcision faction,” as well. If this is true, then, Rom 4:12 would appear to be the only known use of the phrase to mean “anyone who is circumcised.”³² It is also notable that the phrase appears in Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 1.3 (ca. 155 CE), where Justin’s interlocutor is described as a “Hebrew from [the] circumcision” (Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς), which would be redundant if ἐκ περιτομῆς is taken simply to mean “Jewish.”³³ Marcus and Justus (and perhaps Aristarchus) are the only men from the circumcision faction whom Paul numbers among his coworkers, and Epaphras, Demas, and Lucas do not belong to this faction.³⁴

If the more plausible reading of Col 4:10–11 is that οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς designates a specific *faction* of Christ-believing Jews rather than functioning as a euphemism for Jewishness in general, then the most crucial piece of canonical

32 Yet even here the referent for ἐκ περιτομῆς is ambiguous. Is Paul speaking of Jews in the broadest sense? Or is the rhetoric of Rom 4:9–12 intended to be understood as a critique of Christian Jews who would otherwise argue that circumcision precedes πίστις as a sign of God’s covenant with Israel?

33 E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 120–21, compares οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς to the “Hebrews” in 2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5; and Acts 6:ff., where the *Hebraioi* are engaged in a controversy with the *Hellenistai*. The view of F.C. Baur, *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi* (1845), that the “Hellenists” represented a theologically liberal strain of Judaism while the “Hebrews” were identified as theologically conservative on matters of Torah observance, has been largely discredited; see Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1992). C.F.D. Moule argued that the difference between the two groups was primarily a linguistic one; see Moule, “Once More, Who Were the Hellenists?” *ExpTim* 70, no. 4 (1959), 100–102; and Oskar Skarsaune proposed that Hellenistic Jews who had bothered to travel to Jerusalem to live and worship near the Temple were likely to be more *conservative* in their piety and Torah observance than their Judean counterparts; Skarsaune, “Were the Hellenists ‘Liberals’?” *Mishkan* 24, no. 1 (1996), 27–35. These views notwithstanding, it is significant that both Moule and Richard Bauckham acknowledge that the differences between the two groups potentially extended beyond language alone; Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Community,” 55–95 in Skarsaune and Hvalvik, eds., *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 63. Fitzmyer also sees a great deal of ambiguity in the differences between the Hellenists and Hebrews, but ultimately concludes, “It would be an exaggeration to call the Hellenists ‘a sect’ within Judaism ...” Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 346–47.

34 Another possibility is that Paul is referring here only to people who are physically present with him (i.e., “These are my only coworkers of the circumcision who are currently here with me ...”), which would essentially return us to the initial argument that Luke is a gentile: Aristarchus, Marcus, Justus, Epaphras, Lucas, and Demas are all present with Paul, and only the first three of these men are identified as Jewish. The third-class conditional statement concerning Marcus, however, would seem to imply that Marcus is *not* in fact present at the time of the writing of the letter. Why would Paul say ἐάν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς (“If he comes to you ...”) if Marcus was readily available and capable of communicating his own travel plans?

evidence for Luke's identification as a gentile collapses under scrutiny.³⁵ What then can be known about the figure known as Lucas from the New Testament? The paucity of data demands an extremely modest verdict.³⁶ In Phlm 24 he is identified as one of Paul's "coworkers," and it is possible—though far from certain—that Lucas was also a healer or physician of some sort.³⁷ Beyond this, however, little can be known.

2.1 Λούκιος (*Rom 16:21; Acts 13:1*)

No one by the name of Lucas makes an appearance in Acts as a companion of Paul.³⁸ The name Lucas, however, was a known hypocorism for Lucius (Gk: Λούκιος),³⁹ a name shared by two other figures in the NT. Acts 13:1ff. locates a prophet and teacher named Lucius of Cyrene at Antioch along with Paul, Barnabas, and several others; and in Rom 16:21, Paul sends greetings to the assembly in Rome from Timothy, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, whom he describes collectively as his "relatives" (συγγενεῖς).

35 Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 123n30.

36 P.W. Schmiedel, "Luke," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* Vol. 3, ed. by T.K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1902), col. 2830–31, advances an argument similar to my own, but ultimately falls back on the conclusion that "Luke ... remains in any case a gentile Christian," offering no justification for how this conclusion may be reached despite the fact that interpreting οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς as simply "Jewish" rather than a specific faction or sect of Christ-believing Jews renders the text virtually incoherent.

37 It is possible, however, that the term ἱερός in Col 4:14 should be taken metaphorically rather than as a literal description of Luke's vocation; see Rick Strelan, *Luke the Priest* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 70.

38 Another curious omission from Acts is that of Titus (cf. 2 Cor 8:16–24). Citing 2 Cor 8:16, Henry Cadbury notes that some scholars have floated the suggestion that Lucas may have been a consanguine brother to Titus; if Lucas then omitted himself from Acts out of "modesty," so the theory goes, he may also have omitted his brother for the same reason; Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 5, ed. by F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1933), 490. See also William O. Walker's suggestion that the author of Acts may have reworked Paul's Titus narrative from Gal 2:3–5 into the story of the circumcision of Timothy in Acts 16:1–3 to suit his theological agenda; Walker, "The Timothy-Titus Problem Reconsidered," *ExpTim* 92, no. 8 (1981), 231–235.

39 Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 435–6. Other names for which Lucas may have served as a hypocorism were Lucanus, Lucianus, Lucilius, et al.; W.M. Calder considered it "highly probable" that the Lucius and Lucas of the NT were the same individual, but also acknowledged this to be an unprovable assertion; Calder, "Christians and Pagans in the Graeco-Roman Levant," *The Classical Review* 38, no. 1/2 (1924), 30. On the name Leukios (from λευκός, meaning "white") and its connection to an early noncanonical text of the Acts genre, see Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," 495.

As a few scholars have observed, the name Lucius is more commonly associated with Roman gentiles.⁴⁰ Yet Jews (especially those among the Diaspora) often bore Latin and Greek cognomina as well as Graecicized and Latinized Hebrew names,⁴¹ and the epigraphical record attests that several Jews in antiquity went by the name Lucius.⁴² The linguistic origin of a name, however, tells us very little about the actual person to whom it belonged.⁴³ Examples of Jews with Greek or Roman names are also found scattered throughout Paul's letters—perhaps none more significant to my argument here than the three οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς themselves: Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus.

40 E.g., John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 94; Bruce, *Colossians*, 182n58, finds Deissmann's argument "quite unconvincing" because the names Lucas and Lucius were most common among Roman citizens.

41 Strelan, *Luke the Priest*, 107.

42 Tal Ilan's monumental catalog of Jewish names in late antiquity documents some 40 Jewish inscriptions featuring variations of the name Lucas or Lucius. These inscriptions all pre-date the fourth century CE and are scattered across the ancient Mediterranean region from Palestine throughout the Western Diaspora. While it is important to note, as Ilan does, that the Jewishness of several of these names is questionable due to the various criteria archaeologists have used to identify them, many nonetheless may be presumed Jewish beyond a reasonable doubt. *O. Masada 779*, for example, an ostrakon unearthed at Masada in 1989, bears the name Λυκίας. A recently discovered Jewish sarcophagus in Hierapolis holds the remains of one Lucianis, another name for which Lucas serves as a shortened form. Eusebius (*Ecc. hist.* 4.2) also mentions a Jewish rebel leader from Cyrenaica named Lucouas; based on the atypical spelling, Ilan suspects the name was originally Lucas; Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part 1: Palestine, 330 BCE–200 CE* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 334; and Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part 3: The Western Diaspora, 330 BCE–650 CE* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 325, 510–14.

43 Baruch Lifshitz, "Prolegomenon," in P. Jean-Baptiste Frey, ed., *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions Vol. 1: Europe* (New York, NY: Ktav Publishing House, 1975), 23. More recently, Louis Feldman also arrived at this conclusion; see Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 196. Significantly, the name of Luke's own addressee attests to the truth of this principle: While Theophilus (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1) is generally assumed to have been an influential gentile, it is notable that a "Theophilus son of Hanan" served as high priest of the Jerusalem Temple from 37–41 CE (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.5, 3, §123). James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 440–443. An inscription on a box once containing the remains of "Yehoḥanah, granddaughter of Theophilus [תפלוס], high priest," features the first known mention of a Jewish high priest on an ossuary; Dan Barag and David Flusser, "The Ossuary of Yehoḥanah Granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36, no. 1/2 (1986), 39–44. There were in fact *two* high priests during the Second Temple Period who shared the name "Matthias son of Theophilus," the earlier of whom held the high priesthood beginning sometime around 5–4 BCE, while the latter Matthias acceded to the office at the time of the first Jewish revolt in 66 CE.

It is not immediately obvious that the Lucius of Romans 16:21 should be understood to be Jewish. For one thing, it is unclear whether those whom Paul lists as οἱ συγγενεῖς μου includes Lucius, or if he is referring only to Jason and Sosipater.⁴⁴ For another, the broad lexical domain of συγγενεῖς suggests that the term should not necessarily be taken literally. It could be a term of fictive kinship that reflects Paul's close relationship to these men, similar to the word "brother" (ἀδελφός).⁴⁵ On the other hand, συγγενεῖς or its cognates appear a total of twelve times in the NT,⁴⁶ including Rom 9:3, where Paul uses it to indicate the "Israelites" (Ἰσραηλῖται, 9:4), who are his "relatives according to the flesh" (τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα).⁴⁷ If Paul intended the Lucius of Rom 16:21 to be included along with Jason and Sosipater, then this Lucius is very likely to have been Jewish. The case that συγγενεῖς in Rom 16:21 implies Jewishness is also strengthened if the Jason whom Paul references here is understood to be the same Jason mentioned in Acts 17:5–9.

Are the Lucius of Rom 16:21 and Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1) one and the same? In Rom 16:21–23, Paul claims to be in the company of Timothy, Lucius, Jason, Sosipater, and Gaius.⁴⁸ In Acts 20:1–4, Paul departs Ephesus and travels to Macedonia and Greece, accompanied by Sopater son of Pyrrhus from Beroea, Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica, Gaius from Derbe, Timothy, and Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia. The presumed author of Acts eventually joins this gang of travelers in Troas, evidenced by the appearance of the second-person plural "we" in Acts 20:5–6. Although Cadbury does not necessarily equate these two men, he does note that no evidence exists that would necessarily exclude either the Lucius of Acts or the Lucius of Romans from being the author of Luke/Acts: "[T]he other Lucius of the New Testament—the Cyrenian Christian prophet and teacher at Antioch—has *a priori* as much right to be considered identical with Luke as has his namesake in the Epistle to Romans."⁴⁹

I am not particularly interested, however, in positively identifying the author of Luke and Acts with either the Lucius of Acts or the Lucius of Romans (or,

44 Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 438.

45 This was how early readers like Origen understood Paul's use of the term in Rom 16:21. See below.

46 Mark 6:4; Luke 1:36, 1:58, 2:44, 14:12, 21:16; John 18:26; Acts 10:24; Rom 9:3, 16:7, 16:11, 16:21. Note that most of these instances refer unambiguously to consanguine relationships rather than fictive kin.

47 Wenham, "The Identification of Luke," 39.

48 Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," 491–2. Cadbury suggests that Paul's Epistle to the Romans may have been written from Ephesus.

49 Ibid., 492.

for that matter, the Lucas of Philemon, Colossians, and 2 Timothy).⁵⁰ Although Cadbury concedes the high likelihood that Lucius of Cyrene was also Jewish, he eventually concludes that we cannot arrive at any clear answers regarding the relationship between these figures and the authorship of Luke and Acts:

A Lucius born at Cyrene, who may subsequently have been included among the men of Cyrene that were scattered from Jerusalem and preached at Antioch, and who was to be found there before Paul and Barnabas started with John Mark for their journey to Cyprus and the cities in the interior of Asia Minor, might have written Luke and Acts ... He could have been a gentile or he could have been a Jew who read, spoke, and wrote Greek. Jews were abundant at Cyrene (see 1 Macc. 15:23; Josephus, *Cont. Apion* 2.4, *Antiq.* 14.7.2) and Cyrenians were to be found in Jerusalem. But there is no certainty that the name Lucas of Paul's beloved physician stands in this instance for Lucius, or that the author of Luke-Acts bore either name, or that either of them had had personal connexions with Cyrene, Jerusalem, or Antioch.⁵¹

In short, there is no clear and decisive evidence either way.⁵² The available data is simply too exiguous to be conclusive, and in Richard Glover's words, we should avoid raising "too high a superstructure of conclusions on too frail a foundation of facts."⁵³ What is far more significant for this chapter is the

50 On the other hand, it strikes me as unusual that no serious attempts have been made to articulate a reasonable argument as to *why* Luke and Acts could not have been written by either Lucius, and I am aware of no convincing argument for why Lucius ought to be excluded. Channeling Origen, Martin Hengel acknowledges that "some people" have shared this proposition, and even concedes that the first appearance of "we" in the Western text of Acts after 11:28 strengthens the argument for Lucian authorship, yet he concludes—with no further elaboration—that "this hypothesis is very improbable"; *Acts and the History of the Early Church* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979), 72. Similarly, Ernest Daniel Martin, *Colossians, Philemon*, BCBC (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1993), argues: "A man named Lucius appears in Romans 16:21 as a relative of Paul, and a Lucius of Cyrene is listed in Acts 13:1, but it is unlikely that either of these is Luke" (214). Martin also does not state why he believes this to be "unlikely".

51 Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," 494.

52 Deissmann concludes, for example: "I for my part ... would not venture to issue a birth-certificate for Luke on the strength of the passage in Colossians: we do not know for certain what his origin was. Thus the possibility that Lucius may be identical with the author of the 'we' narrative is by no means to be rejected, and the early tradition of the Church concerning Luke finds confirmation, perhaps, between the lines of the New Testament." Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 438.

53 Richard Glover, "Luke the Antiochene' and Acts," *NTS* 11, no. 1 (1964), 97–106 (102).

existence among the pre-Nicene church fathers of *multiple and often mutually exclusive streams of tradition concerning Lukan authorship*. The mere fact that these conflicting traditions have survived is evidence of a mixed reception history and a significant degree of uncertainty within the early church regarding Luke's identity.

The ambiguity of the references surveyed above suggests that a gentile Luke is not in fact the *only* reasonable conclusion that may be inferred from the canonical texts of the New Testament. In other words, that Luke was a gentile *may* be inferred from Colossians 4, but the text by no means *demand*s it. In any case, even if the evidence within the NT were stronger than it actually is, nothing about any of the texts discussed above suggests that either Lucas or Lucius were involved in the composition of the Third Gospel or Acts.⁵⁴ On the other hand, it remains likely that the author was named Lucas/Lucius, since the early emphasis on apostolicity as a criterion for canonical acceptance of a text would make this name an outlier among the known apostles.⁵⁵ But beyond this, little can be known. We are thus left to examine subsequent traditions about the author of Luke and Acts for further evidence.

3 Luke the Evangelist in the Patristic Imagination

As Andrew Gregory's work on the early reception of Luke and Acts has successfully illustrated, there is little evidence among our earliest surviving Christian sources to connect these two texts with anyone named Luke.⁵⁶ The earliest known manuscript featuring text from the Third Gospel is probably P4 (ca. 200 CE), but there is nothing about this fragment that hints at the identity of its author. The earliest extant manuscript containing the incipit ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΟΝ

54 Although, as we will see below, this was often assumed among the pre-Nicene fathers; Origen (*Hom. in Luc.* 1.6), for example, identifies the anonymous "brother" of 2 Cor. 8:18 as the author of the Third Gospel.

55 Frederick Danker, *Jesus and the New Age* (Philadelphia, PA: Augsburg Fortress, 1988), 1.

56 The list of primary sources in the following analysis by no means represents a complete catalog of references and allusions to Luke/Acts, and Andrew Gregory's previous work on the reception history of Luke and Acts is far superior to what I have compiled here. For the sake of space, I have chosen to review only those sources that make specific claims about the author himself, rather than include all early sources that refer to Luke and Acts more generally. I have also omitted discussion of later legends, such as the 13th-century Syriac text, *The Book of the Bee*, which identifies Luke as the unnamed disciple on the road to Emmaus (cf. Luke 24:13ff.) and claims that he was initially a disciple of Lazarus of Bethany. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Book of the Bee: The Syriac Text edited with an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 99, 108.

is Bodmer P75 in the late-second/early-third century.⁵⁷ Papias, probably writing early in the second century, is completely silent about Luke's Gospel altogether, devoting his attention instead to Matthew and Mark.⁵⁸ Justin Martyr alludes to or appears to quote directly from Luke/Acts throughout his *Dialogue with Trypho* (ca. 155–165 CE),⁵⁹ but never identifies either of these texts with an author named "Luke." The absence of any direct claims by Justin about Lukan authorship leads Gregory to conclude that it is impossible to determine with any degree of confidence whether Justin is actually referring to Luke and Acts in their popularly circulated forms, or if he is instead familiar with an earlier Lukan urtext.⁶⁰ Similarly, the early third-century⁶¹ letter of Julius Africanus to Aristides preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 1.7; see also 6.31.3) does name Luke as the author Third Gospel, but Africanus likewise provides no further clues about the author's biography. Moreover, since *Letter to Aristides* is only extant in copied form, it is difficult to know whether Eusebius preserved the original letter in its entirety or used his editorial discretion to supply Luke's name where it was initially absent.

3.1 *Irenaeus*

The earliest confirmed source to identify the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles explicitly with an author named "Luke" is Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses* (ca. 175–180 CE): "Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him."⁶² Irenaeus further attests that the author of Luke and Acts was a "disciple of the apostles" (3.10.1), and that he was a "fellow-laborer in the Gospel" to Paul, from whom he was "inseparable."⁶³

57 Recent evidence strongly suggests an even later date for P75, likely sometime in the fourth century. Brent Nongbri, "Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (P75) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *JBL* 135, no. 2 (2016), 405–437.

58 Cf., however, Charles E. Hill, "What Papias Said about John (and Luke): A 'New' Papian Fragment," *Journal of Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (1998), 582–629, esp. 625–9. Hill argues that Papias likely did write about the author of Luke/Acts, but that those documents are now lost to us.

59 The index to the Slusser edition of *Dialogue with Trypho* lists a total of 38 references to the Third Gospel and Acts.

60 Cf. Matthijs den Dulk's recent and convincing argument establishing "considerable evidence" for Justin's familiarity with the Acts of the Apostles. *Between Jews and Heretics: Refiguring Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 145ff.

61 On dating, see Christophe Guignard, *La lettre de Julius Africanus à Aristide sur la généalogie du Christ: Analyse de la tradition textuelle, édition, traduction et étude critique* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2011).

62 Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*. 3.1.1 (PG 7:845b).

63 Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.14.1 (PG 7:913a).

One again, according to Andrew Gregory, it is methodologically impossible to discern whether Irenaeus is drawing on an existing tradition regarding Lukan authorship, or if he himself is the source of these biographical details.⁶⁴ Like many modern commentators, Irenaeus grounds his narrative portrait of Luke by appealing explicitly to 2 Tim 4 and Col 4, in addition to a number of the so-called “we-passages” from Acts.⁶⁵ As Gregory has observed, such a portrait requires no external source apart from Irenaeus’s own reading of Luke, Acts, and the Pauline epistles.⁶⁶

Simply put, it is possible that Irenaeus read the first-person “we-passages” from Acts alongside the references to Lucas in Col and 2 Tim and concluded that the author of Luke and Acts was none other than the “beloved physician” himself.⁶⁷ Although it is not possible to pinpoint which other texts might have aided Irenaeus in reaching this conclusion, he may have determined Luke to be the author by simple process of elimination: Aristarchus, for instance, is named as a companion to the author of the “we-passages” in Acts 27:2, which presumably would rule him out as an authorial candidate.⁶⁸ Ultimately, however, the most important contribution of Irenaeus’s biography of Luke in *Adv. haer.* is precisely what he does *not* say: Nothing Irenaeus says about Luke indicates anything about Luke’s ethnic background.⁶⁹ If a tradition that Luke was a gentile convert circulated in the early second century CE, Irenaeus shows no awareness of it.

64 Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 32.

65 Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.14.1 (PG 7:913a).

66 Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 39.

67 “Whether any actual knowledge about the author of the Third Gospel and Acts was handed down from early times or not, the first statements made about it can be largely explained as inferences from the text,” Henry Cadbury, “The Identity of the Editor of Luke and Acts,” 260. See also Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 38. Cf. Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 80: “It is completely unthinkable that the authors of the oldest witnesses came of their own accord specifically upon Luke by making inferences [from Acts]. There were, in fact, many travel companions and coworkers of Paul and many who ... appear much more suitable than Luke who was not very prominent,” translated in Jens Schröter, *From Jesus to the New Testament*, trans. by Wayne Coppins, BMSSEC (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), 207n15.

68 Cadbury, “The Identity of the Editor of Luke and Acts,” 261.

69 *pace* Andrew E. Arterbury, *Reading Luke* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2019), 2, who adds the adjective “gentile” into the list of descriptors we can infer from Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.1.1) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.4).

3.2 *Clement of Alexandria*

Clement of Alexandria (150–215 CE) discusses Luke both in his *Paedagogus* (ca. 198 CE) and in the later *Stromateis* (198–203 CE).⁷⁰ In *Paed.* 2.1.15 and *Strom.* 1.21 Clement attributes the Third Gospel to an author named Luke, and attributes Acts to the same author in *Strom.* 5.12.82, as well. No further biographical information is given about the author other than his name. Yet it is also worth mentioning that Clement may have ascribed two additional works to Luke, as well. First, Clement also likely believed that Luke translated Hebrews (which he attributes to Paul) into Greek.⁷¹ Second, a fragmented scholion of Maximus the Confessor references a no-longer-extant apologetic work entitled *The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, originally attributed to the early second-century historian Aristo of Pella, in which a Christian engages in a debate with a Jew over whether Jesus could have been the Jewish messiah. Maximus notes that Clement of Alexandria held Luke to be the author of this dialogue.⁷²

3.3 *Tertullian of Carthage*

The vast majority of book 4 of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, probably written around 207–208 CE,⁷³ comprises a polemical commentary on the Gospel of Luke. In this commentary, Tertullian attempts to undermine the theological premises of Marcionism using the only gospel which Marcion himself believed to be authoritative. Against Marcion, for instance, Tertullian argues that Luke's gospel account stands in full continuity with Israelite tradition and theology. At one point (*Marc.* 4.9), he even levels a charge of incoherency at Marcion for omitting Jesus's *words* about coming to fulfill the law (Matt 5:17) while retaining the Lukan Jesus's narrative *actions* that cohere with Jewish law (e.g., Luke 5:14).

70 Dates suggested by John Ferguson, trans., *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis Books 1–3* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 17.

71 That is, if Cassiodorus's sixth-century Latin translation of Clement's *Hypotyposes* is believed to be accurate. See "Fragments, 1.1" (*ANF* 2:573). cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.38.2; 4.25.14. As for Eusebius's own opinion on the authorship of Hebrews, "θεὸς οἶδεν." On the traditions concerning Luke the Evangelist found in Clement's *Hypotyposes*, see Luke J. Stevens, "The Evangelists in Clement's *Hypotyposes*," *J ECS* 26, no. 3 (2019), 353–79. While it has failed to gain widespread acceptance, a few modern scholars have also subscribed to the theory that Luke translated Hebrews for Paul. For a recent example, see David L. Allen, *Lukan Authorship of Hebrews* (Nashville: B&H, 2010).

72 Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes* Frag. 11 (*GCS* 17:198–199).

73 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 39.

The secondary literature on the relationship between Tertullian, Marcion, and Luke is enormous.⁷⁴ Accordingly, I will limit my comments on Tertullian's work only to those parts of *Adversus Marcionem* that shed light on Tertullian's understanding of Luke's biography. As lengthy as his treatment of the Gospel of Luke is, Tertullian's comments on Luke's background are extraordinarily brief and opaque. In *Marc.* 4.2, he remarks that neither Mark the Evangelist nor Luke⁷⁵ was an apostle; rather, both were second-generation "apostolic men" who were "with and after apostles."⁷⁶ The fact that Marcion subscribes to an altered version of Luke's account alone proves to be problematic for Tertullian according to the *regula fidei* and proto-orthodox standards for the acceptance of a tradition's authority.

Tertullian's belief that Luke himself was not an eyewitness "from the beginning" (e.g. Luke 1:1–4) but rather a second-generation Christian also highlights the possibility that Tertullian is either unaware of the tradition that Luke was among the Seventy(-Two) Apostles, or that he *is* aware of it, but rejects its plausibility. Given that his discussion of the mission of the Seventy in *Marc.*

74 For the theory that Marcion's redacted version of Luke was in fact a proto-Lukan tradition, see John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). Matthias Klinghardt has advanced the minority view that Luke's gospel was an expanded and edited version of Marcion's gospel; see Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädoyer für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles," *New Testament Studies* 52, no. 4 (2006), 484–513; see also Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), who argues that the portrait of a Torah-observant Paul in Acts was intended to combat Marcionite Christianity. More recently, see Markus Vinzent's bold (and little-affirmed) claim that *all four* canonical gospels post-date Marcion: Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014). Against this view, see Isaac W. Oliver, "Are Luke and Acts Anti-Marcionite?" 499–525 in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. by J. Harold Ellens, et al. (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018). Dieter Roth rightly cautions that before positing literary dependence between Luke and Marcion (one way or the other), we must first develop a confident reconstruction of Marcion's gospel; see Dieter Roth, "The Link between Luke and Marcion's Gospel: Prolegomena and Initial Considerations," in *Luke on Jesus, Paul and Christianity: What Did He Really Know?* ed. by Joseph Verheyden and John S. Kloppenborg, BTS 29 (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2017), 59–80. For an extensive reconstruction of Marcion's edition of the Gospel of Luke, see Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (Boston: Brill, 2015), esp. 410–36. More recently, Jan Heilmann and Kevin Künzl have critiqued the reconstructions of Marcion by Harnack, Roth, Klinghardt, and others; see Heilmann and Künzl, "Das Problem von Kurz- und Langtext in Lk 22,17–20 und das für Marcion bezeugte Evangelium," *NovT* 62, no. 2 (2020), 117–138.

75 Like several other early tradents, Tertullian pairs Mark and Luke together.

76 Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 347.

4.24 lacks any mention of Luke's involvement, however, the former scenario appears to be most likely.

Another interesting feature of *Adversus Marcionem* is what Tertullian's assessment of Marcion may reveal about the early reception of Luke. According to Tertullian, the reason Marcion emended Luke's gospel in the first place was that he believed it to be compromised by the work of Christian "defenders of Judaism" (*Marc.* 4.5). For Tertullian, the measure of a text's validity is its antiquity; the more ancient, the closer to the events it depicts, the more likely it is to be true (*Marc.* 4.4–5). Orthodoxy therefore always precedes heresy, since heresy—at least by Tertullian's reckoning—involves a mutation of the pure form of orthodox teaching. Tertullian thus argues that Marcion's version of Luke is the corrupted version of the text. If Tertullian is correct, however, this would suggest that Marcion's problem with the much of the Gospel of Luke is that it was, in essence, "too Jewish"! Citing *Marc.* 4.4, Martin Rese has suggested that in eliminating particular sections of the Third Gospel—especially the birth narrative, which is positively brimming with allusions to the Septuagint—Marcion believed himself to be excising the later interpolations of "Judaizing Christians" who wanted to harmonize the Jewish law and prophets with the gospel of Christ.⁷⁷ Could it not have been the case that Marcion had acquired a Hellenistic Jewish gospel and simply removed the parts of it that he believed were most distinctively Jewish?⁷⁸

3.4 *Origen of Alexandria*

In his *Commentary on Matthew*, Origen (184–253 CE) shares that Luke wrote his gospel "for the converts from the gentiles" (*Comm. Matt.* 1.1), and elsewhere identifies the author of Luke's gospel as the anonymous "brother" of 2 Cor 8:18 (*Hom. Luc.* 1.6).⁷⁹ Yet Origen's lengthiest and most valuable discussion of the authorship of the Third Gospel is found in his *Commentary on Romans*. Remarking on Paul's greetings from Timothy, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater in Rom 16:21, Origen writes:

77 Martin Rese, "Das Lukas-Evangelium: Ein Forschungsbericht," *ANRW* 25.3:2262. It is notable that Irenaeus also held this to be the case (*Adv. haer.* 3.12.12).

78 Admittedly, these are not the only possible explanations. It is conceivable, as indeed many have argued, that the parts of Luke/Acts that appear to be the most "Jewish-inflected" may be explained by Luke's use of Jewish sources. This hypothesis suffers, however, in that it engages in the same question-begging exhibited by Fitzmyer and others. Alternatively, it could be argued that Tertullian is in fact wrong, and that Marcion's version of Luke is the authentic one.

79 Joseph T. Lienhard, trans., *Origen: Homilies on Luke* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press), 8–9.

Some maintain that this very Lucius is Luke, who wrote the Gospel, since it is customary for names to be given sometimes in accordance with the native declensions, sometimes even according to the Greek or Roman declension.⁸⁰

Two issues are worth highlighting here: First, it is significant that Origen begins by saying that “*some* maintain ...” which confirms that he is aware of *more than one* writer who affirms the same tradition. A few lines later, he appears to confirm that he too believes the Lucius of Rom 16:21 to be the author of the Third Gospel.⁸¹ Second, as discussed above, it is not out of the question that this Lucius could also be the author of the we-passages of Acts. Furthermore, if Rom 16 was originally written to the congregation in Ephesus and later appended to Romans as Harry Gamble has argued, then the presence of Timothy, Jason, Sosipater, and Lucius alongside Paul lines up well with the narrative of Acts 20.⁸²

Origen struggles, however, with how to read συγγενεῖς in 16:21. Although he readily accepts that the word implies some form of consanguinity when Paul uses it of Andronicus and Junia in Rom 16:7 (*Comm. Rom.* 10.21.2), he has more difficulty with the suggestion that Timothy, Jason, Sosipater, and Lucius could have been Paul’s actual kin:

But he who considers Paul’s letters with more curiosity, as though Christ is speaking in him, will undoubtedly be troubled by how Paul, who has declared that he was born a Hebrew of Hebrews in Tarsus of Cilicia, should not be said to be a relative or related by blood to Timothy, a citizen of Derbe from a gentile father, or to Jason of Thessalonica, or to Sosipater of Beroea. But if anyone should say that it was because those men came from the group of the circumcision, then it was not fitting to be said of them in particular that they were relatives to Paul, but of all who were from the Jews. But now, since he by no means concedes this designation to the others, but he does assign it to these and to several others, it is certain that he is identifying another kind of relationship that is held in common with himself, Timothy, and Luke and with a few others like

80 Origen, *Commentary on Romans* 10.39.1–2. Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 6–10* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 304.

81 Ibid, 305n334.

82 Harry Y. Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual and Literary Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 49ff. Origen assumes the Σωσίπατρος of Rom 16:21 to be the same man called Σώπατρος in Acts 20:4.

them. He would doubtless know that this relationship, or consanguinity, between himself and them derives from that fatherhood about which he says in another passage, “For this reason I bow my knees before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom every fatherhood in heaven and on earth is named.” Knowing, therefore, that there is a certain fatherhood in heaven, just as it is also on earth, it is certain that he knew that those who are united with him by no means according to the relationship of earthly fatherhood are to be united with himself, according to the relationship of the heavenly fatherhood.⁸³

This passage is more difficult than it might appear at first glance.⁸⁴ Origen is the earliest known patristic writer to connect the dots between the Lucas of Col 4:14, the appearance of the name Lucius in Rom 16:21 and Acts 13:1, and the author of Luke/Acts (though, as mentioned above, Origen himself acknowledged that others held this view before him). Depending on the meaning of the word συγγενεῖς in Rom 16:21, Paul could have understood Lucius to be either 1) a Jewish comrade; 2) a “spiritual relative” in the Lord; or 3) an actual blood relative. To introduce this perceived exegetical problem, Origen constructs a hypothetical reader who struggles to understand why Paul would describe Timothy, Jason, and Sosipater as *relatives* if they each originated from such geographically disparate regions of the empire. Perhaps, this hypothetical reader suggests, Paul calls them συγγενεῖς because they are all ‘from the group of the circumcision.’ Origen responds that such a claim would make these men related not only to Paul, but to *all* Jews, effectively rendering Paul’s claim that they were *his* relatives redundant.

Origen’s solution is to read Paul’s use of συγγενεῖς metaphorically, lumping these men into a new category of spiritual kinship: “But now, since [Paul] by no means concedes this designation [that is, συγγενεῖς] to the others [e.g. Andronicus and Junia in Rom 16:7], but he does assign it to these [that is, Timothy, Jason, Sosipater, and Lucius] and several others, it is certain that he is identifying another kind of relationship ...” This is not an implausible reading—after all, Paul refers to the unnamed mother of Rufus in Rom 16:13 as “the mother of him and of me” (τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ), yet no one would argue that Paul believed himself to be the literal brother of Rufus. Origen does

83 Origen, *Comm. Rom.* 10.39.1–2. Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 6–10* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 304–5.

84 I am deeply grateful to John Sehorn and Jordan Ryan for helping me work through Origen’s line of reasoning here.

not entirely reject the possibility that Lucius could have been a blood relative to Paul, but only because it is a debate which he does not believe to be particularly important. He perceives a very real relationship to exist between Paul, Timothy, and Lucius; yet at the same time, it is also a spiritual relationship based upon their mutual kinship with the Father of Jesus Christ. Origen thus muddles the categorical distinctions between consanguine/familial kinship, ethnic kinship, and spiritual kinship. Nonetheless, it remains the case that most appearances of συγγενεῖς in the NT refer unambiguously to blood relatives, and it must be observed that Origen introduces no further certainty into the debate in either direction. While we can plausibly suggest that Origen would not have been hostile to the possibility that Luke was Jewish, he nevertheless understood Luke's (former?) ethnic identity to have been replaced by his new identity in Christ.⁸⁵

3.5 *The ("Anti-Marcionite") Gospel Prologues*

These short introductions to the gospels of Mark, Luke, and John were initially believed to have been part of a single literary composition intended to repudiate Marcionism.⁸⁶ Now, however, it is generally accepted that the prologues were composed separately, with the prologue to the Gospel of Luke being the oldest. Eldon Jay Epp has suggested this prologue alone may have been written as early as the second century,⁸⁷ and its differing length and style suggest that it circulated independently of the other gospel prologues for some time.⁸⁸ The Prologue to Luke also represents the first genuine "biography" of the Third Evangelist, filling out the story of his life with details found nowhere else in the earlier patristic literature:

Lucas was a Syrian from Antioch, a physician by trade, being a disciple of the apostles and then following Paul until [Paul's] martyrdom. He served the Lord without distraction, unmarried and childless, falling asleep at the age of eighty-four in Boeotia, full of the holy spirit. Although

85 For an examination of the points of similarity between Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and the New Perspective on Paul, see Joshua E. Madden, "A Rapprochement between Origen and the 'New Perspective' on Paul: Christ and the Law in Origen's Commentary on Romans," *HeyJ* 57 (2016), 638–48.

86 Donatien De Bruyne, "Les plus anciens prologues latins des évangiles," *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928), 193–214. The prologue to Matthew is no longer extant.

87 Eldon Jay Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," 485–515 in *The Canon Debate*, ed. by Lee Martin McDonald and James Sanders (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 509.

88 Lee Martin McDonald, "Anti-Marcionite (Gospel) Prologues," *ABD* 1:262.

gospels already existed, [Luke] was compelled by the holy spirit and wrote all this gospel in the region around Achaia, relating through his preface that other gospels were written before him, but that it was necessary to set forth for the faithful from the gentiles a precisely arranged narrative so they would not be distracted by Jewish mythologies, nor by heretical and frivolous fantasies, being duped into missing the truth.⁸⁹ Thus, that which is indispensable we have heard immediately in the beginning [of Luke's gospel]: the birth of John, who is the beginning of the Gospel, the forerunner of the Lord, sharing in the preparation⁹⁰ of the Gospel, the carrying out of baptism, and the fellowship of the spirit. This arrangement is recounted by a prophet among the Twelve. And later the same Lucas wrote the Acts of the Apostles.⁹¹

This prologue also may be the earliest source to relate any tradition regarding Luke's death.⁹² More important, however, are the claims that Luke wrote intentionally for a gentile proselyte audience, and that he was a Syrian from Antioch.⁹³ The Gospel Prologue to Luke is the earliest known source to make either of these claims.⁹⁴

89 Cf. Titus 1:14.

90 Curiously, BDAG notes that this word—καταρτισμός—appears as a medical term in Greco-Roman literature, with the connotation of the “setting of a bone” (526).

91 Translation my own. Luke's is the only Prologue extant in Greek as well as Latin. For the Greek text, see Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 15th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 548–9.

92 Depending upon the date of the Hippolytean Apostles List (on which see below). As Andrew Gregory has observed, however, the tradition concerning Luke's death related here bears a suspicious resemblance to the text of Luke 2:36–38; See Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 44n79. According to accounts by Jerome (in his emendation to Eusebius's *Chronicon* and in *De Viris Illustribus* 7.6) and John of Rhodes (*Passio Artemii*), Constantius II brought Luke's remains from Achaia to rest in Constantinople along with the bodies of the apostles Andrew and Timothy, where they were entombed in the Church of the Holy Apostles in 360 CE. See David Woods, “The Date of the Translation of the Relics of Ss. Luke and Andrew to Constantinople,” *VC* 45, no. 3 (1991), 286–292. Oddly, however, Photius's chapter summary of Philostorgius's *Ecclesiastical History* (3.2) omits Luke from this nearly identical account of the veneration of the relics of Andrew and Timothy.

93 Arguing against Richard Bauckham's thesis that the gospels were written with a universal audience in mind, Margaret Mitchell notes that the prologue's statement that Luke wrote for a gentile audience serves as evidence that even early patristic sources understood the difference between the Evangelists' ideal narrative audience(s) and their own. See Mitchell, “Patristic Counter-Evidence to the Claim that ‘The Gospels Were Written for All Christians’” *NTS* 51 (2005), 56–57.

94 Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 44.

The tradition placing Luke at Antioch seems as promising an option as any other.⁹⁵ It is also tempting to conclude that Luke was an Antiochene based on a variant reading of Acts 11:28ff. in Codex Bezae, in which an additional we-passage locates the author among the witnesses of the events in Antioch.⁹⁶ Yet even if Luke were in fact an Antiochene, however, it does not necessarily follow that he also must have been a gentile.⁹⁷ A sizable Jewish community had thrived in Antioch since 300 BCE, when they were granted citizenship by Seleucis I Nicator. Subsequently, this diaspora community experienced regular and close contact with pagan and Christian groups alike through the late-fourth and even into the fifth century, as evidenced by Chrysostom's *Homilies Against the Jews*.⁹⁸ Even Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2:39) remarks that Jews living in Antioch were called simply "Antiochenes".⁹⁹ If Luke did actually hail from a Jewish community in Antioch, this might explain why he so frequently errs in his description of geographical details of Judea,¹⁰⁰ but describes other

95 Among those who share the view that Luke was from Antioch, see Glover, "Luke the Antiochene"; and Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 44–47, who proposes that a native Antiochene would help make sense of some of the literary evidence internal to Acts. Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," 493, proposes that the author may have lived at Antioch without having been a native of the city, thus reconciling several strands of early tradition. On the association of the author of Luke and Acts with Lucius of Cyrene, see also Bo Reicke, *The Gospel of Luke*, trans. by Ross Mackenzie (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1964), 10–24.

96 According to Cadbury, a variant reading of Acts 13:1 contained in the ninth-century Latin manuscript *Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae* (Cod. Sang. 133) constitutes an "early Christian conjecture" that Lucius of Cyrene may have been the author of Acts. Illustrating how at least some early Christians were sorting through the identity of Lukan authorship in the first few centuries, Cadbury says, this speculation "may have assumed, either from the Western text of Acts 11:27ff. or independently, that Luke had Antiochian connexions, but it cannot have gone so far as did the tradition that made him an Antiochian native [e.g., the Gospel Prologues], since it is able to identify him with Lucius of Cyrene," Cadbury, "Lucius of Cyrene," 493.

97 Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 45.

98 Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 102.

99 See also Wayne Meeks and Robert L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (Ann Arbor, MI: SBL Press, 1978), 1ff.

100 Cf., however, John M. Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee in Josephus, Luke, and John* (Boston: Brill, 2016); and John Kloppenborg, "Luke's Geography: Knowledge, Ignorance, Sources, and Spatial Conception," 101–143 in *Luke on Jesus, Paul and Christianity: What Did He Really Know?*, ed. by Joseph Verheyden and John S. Kloppenborg (Leuven: Peeters, 2017). It should be noted, however, that Luke does describe accurately the distance between the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem, and does so in distinctively Jewish terms (ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν, Acts 1:12); Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 194–204.

elements of Jewish belief and practice so precisely.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, if this were the case, it seems strange that neither Ignatius (who would have been Luke's near-contemporary) nor John Chrysostom—both natives of Antioch themselves—appear to be aware of this fact.

Martin Rese maintains that the prologues can tell us nothing of the author of Luke because of their late date.¹⁰² Andrew Gregory, however, echoing Fitzmyer, is more circumspect: "This reference may show either that the tradition concerning the authorship of the Gospels was a living one to which new details could still be added ... or that independent information not used by Irenaeus or by the author of the Muratorian Fragment was known to and used by the author of this preface."¹⁰³ Thus the Prologue to Luke offers no firm conclusions about Luke's origins. Luke *may* have been from Antioch—a fact that does not in itself rule out the possibility that he was brought up within a Jewish community of the diaspora.

3.6 *Eusebius of Caesarea*

Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, completed for the most part between 300 and 325, fleshes out Luke's biography a bit further. By the early fourth century, the ascription of both the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to Luke was already widely accepted, and a "fourfold gospel" tradition established.¹⁰⁴ Thus Eusebius is able to describe Luke somewhat curiously as one of "our own" (ἡμῶν

101 E.g. According to R. Steven Notley, Luke 4:16–30 represents "the oldest account of the Jewish custom to follow the public reading of the Torah in the synagogue with a reading from the Prophets ... Apart from Luke's report (see Acts 13:14–15), the earliest Jewish reference to this practice is the third-century-CE compilation of oral traditions in the Mishna," Notley, "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method in the Nazareth Synagogue," 46–59 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, Vol. 2, ed. by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 47. Notley also observes that Luke is the earliest extant source—by almost six hundred years!—to document the Jewish tradition of naming male children on the eighth day after their birth (Luke 1:63; 2:21).

102 Rese, "Das Lukas-Evangelium," *ANRW* 25.3:2264. See also Jürgen Regul, *Die antimarcionitischen Evangelienprologe* (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), 201 (cited by Rese, 2264n27, who apparently shares Regul's view).

103 Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 43. See also Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 39.

104 On the attribution of the Third Gospel, see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.24.7; 3.24.10; 3.24.13–16; 5.8.3 (quoting from Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 3.1.1). On the attribution of the Acts of the Apostles, see *Hist. eccl.* 1.5.3; 2.8.1–2; 2.11.1; 2.22.1; 2.22.6; 3.4.1–11; 3.31.5. On Eusebius and the question of canonical authority, see Gregory Robbins, "Eusebius' Lexicon of 'Canonicity,'" *StPatr* 25 (1993), 134–141.

ὁ Λουκᾶς), and briefly juxtaposes Luke's work with that of Josephus, "the most famous of the historians among the Hebrews" (*Hist. eccl.* 1.5.3).¹⁰⁵

Eusebius does not appear to have been aware of the tradition that Luke was one of the Seventy(-Two) apostles (*Hist. eccl.* 1.12.1). Rather, he claims that Luke was "by race an Antiochene and by training a physician," and affirms that Luke was a companion of the Apostle Paul (*Hist. eccl.* 3.4.6). Like Origen, Eusebius believes that Luke intended his gospel for a gentile audience (τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.6), and that his purpose in composing his gospel was intended as a criticism of other gospel writers (*Hist. eccl.* 3.24.15; cf. Luke 1:1–4).

Yet Eusebius also maintains that Luke developed relationships with other early apostles besides Paul, and used their accounts to compose his gospel, as well (*Hist. eccl.* 3.24.15).¹⁰⁶ He speculates that Luke probably wrote Acts while in Paul's company, perhaps around the same time Paul wrote 2 Timothy (*Hist. eccl.* 2.22.6–7), and, as noted above, he is also aware of the Clementine tradition that Paul composed the Epistle to the Hebrews in Aramaic, which Luke then translated into Greek (*Hist. eccl.* 3.38.2).¹⁰⁷ Still, Eusebius repeatedly underscores Luke's close relationship with Paul, highlighting him as the author of "the Gospel which was preached by him" (*Hist. eccl.* 5.8.3). To support this theory, he cites Paul's reference to "my gospel" (κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου) in Rom 2:16 (*Hist. eccl.* 3.4.7), assuming that by εὐαγγέλιόν Paul is referring not to the *kerygmatic content* of his own message, but rather to an actual gospel *narrative*—an assumption that is shared by several other early Christian writers, as well.

3.7 *The Hippolytean Apostles Lists*

Preserved in a palimpsest folio of Codex Baroccianus (*ms Barocci* 206),¹⁰⁸ a Greek apostles list attributed to a certain "Hippolytus" numbers Luke among

105 While Eusebius presumably means "Christian" here, it is possible—though perhaps not probable—that he also may be insinuating that Luke was a gentile.

106 This coheres with the author's own claims in Luke 1:2, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου ("... just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word ..."). Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 11.13) also references Philo, Aristobulus, Josephus, Demetrius, and Eupolemus as Jewish historians who attempt to show "that Moses and the Jewish race went back further in their origins than the Greeks." It should be observed that this historiographical telos is almost *precisely* what Luke attempts to do in his two-volume work, i.e., reconfiguring history to underscore the ancient roots of a tradition.

107 Ultimately, however, Eusebius confesses his own ambivalence to this theory (*Hist. eccl.* 6.25.14).

108 A high-resolution digital scan of *ms Barocci* 206 may be viewed online at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/42f77f00-7caa-4272-a613-ddbcd8ca8c9>.

the Seventy(-Two) sent out by Jesus *en route* to Jerusalem in Luke 10:1ff. According to this list, Luke and Mark both were scandalized by Jesus's eucharistic teaching and consequently fled the group. Luke was later restored to the faith by Paul, and eventually martyred:

Mark the evangelist, bishop of Alexandria, [and] Luke the evangelist. These two belonged to the seventy disciples who were scattered by the offense of the word which Christ spake, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he is not worthy of me." But the one being induced to return to the Lord by Peter's instrumentality, and the other by Paul's, they were honored to preach that gospel on account of which they also suffered martyrdom, the one being burned, and the other being crucified on an olive tree.¹⁰⁹

The date and origin of this manuscript are far from certain due to confusion over precisely which Hippolytus is presumed to be the author.¹¹⁰ The titular headings of most extant copies attribute the list to Hippolytus of Thebes, which would date the original closer to the seventh or eighth century; other copies attribute the list to Hippolytus of Rome, which would place the list considerably earlier, in the late-second or early-third century. Still other versions offer no further elucidation than simply "Hippolytus."¹¹¹ Christophe Guignard thinks it best therefore to speak of a Hippolytean *family* of apostles lists: "We should first point out that we are not dealing here with an apostle list circulating under the name of Hippolytus, rather with a pluralistic tradition connected variously with the names of Hippolytus, Hippolytus of Rome, and Hippolytus of Thebes."¹¹² Even so, Guignard has recently judged this Hippolytean list to be based upon an earlier manuscript, *Anonymus I* (BHG 153c), likely written in the fourth or fifth century.¹¹³ *Anonymus I* includes Luke among the Seventy, and also identifies him with the beloved physician of Col 4:14. The rest of the details

109 ANF 5:255. For Greek and Latin transcriptions see PG 10:953c; and Theodor Schermann, ed., *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae: Indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini, Dorotheo, Epiphonio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 168.

110 On the dating of this manuscript, see Christophe Guignard, "Greek Lists of the Apostles: New Findings and Open Questions," ZAC 20, no. 3, (2016), 469–495.

111 "We are probably not yet in a position to tackle the question of attribution, but the arguments currently at our disposal do not seem to speak in favor of assigning both lists to Hippolytus of Thebes, or even to assign to him only the list that is transmitted under his name" Guignard, "Greek Lists of the Apostles," 489.

112 Ibid, 487.

113 Ibid, 481. See also C.H. Turner, "A Primitive Edition of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons: An Early List of Apostles and Disciples," JTS 15, no. 57 (1913), 53–65; Turner was

provided by the Hippolytean tradition, however, are absent from *Anonymus 1*, their provenance obscure.

3.8 Ephrem the Syrian (306–373 CE)

Like Origen before him, Ephrem the Syrian believed the author of Luke/Acts to be the “brother” of whom Paul writes in 2 Cor 8:18,¹¹⁴ and that he wrote in Greek.¹¹⁵ By contrast, however, Ephrem also explicitly identifies the author of Luke/Acts with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1),¹¹⁶ whom, as I have argued above, may have been Jewish by birth. Henry Cadbury explains this identification:

Mark and Lucius of Cyrene are not really connected in the narrative [of Acts]. But, finding them close together, Ephrem evidently thought of them as the two evangelists Mark and Luke. In other words, for him Lucius of Cyrene is Lucas the author not only of the gospel but of the Acts as well. I see no reason to suppose that Ephrem had any different text from the ordinary one in this passage. His identification of Luke with the Cyrenian is made on the basis of tradition or else independently.¹¹⁷

Yet Ephrem was only the first of many eastern writers to connect the author of Luke and Acts to Jewish figures from the New Testament. In the tenth century, Symeon Metaphrastes identified Luke as the unnamed companion of Cleopas on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13–35),¹¹⁸ and the eleventh-century Byzantine archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid likewise noted that “some have thought” the unnamed disciple to be Luke himself.¹¹⁹ In the twelfth century, Dionysius

the first to acknowledge *Anonymus 1* as one of the earliest examples of the apostolic list genre.

114 Patres Mekitharistes, *S. Ephrem Syri: Commentarii in Epistolas D. Pauli* (Venetiis: Typographia Sancti Lazari, 1893), 103.

115 Interestingly, Ephrem also mentions that it is *John* who hails from Antioch, not Luke. Georgius Moesinger, ed., *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio, Facta A: Sancto Ephraemo, Doctore Syro* (Venetiis: Libreria PP. Mechitaristarum in Monasterio S. Lazari, 1876), 286.

116 See Frederick C. Conybeare, trans., “The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts,” 373–453 in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 3, ed. by F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926). Cadbury, “Lucius of Cyrene,” 492, suggests that the Syriac text of Acts 20:13–14 may have read “But I, Luke, and those with me ...”

117 Cadbury, “Lucius of Cyrene,” 494.

118 PG 115:1131d. Cf. Epiphanius (*Pan.* 23.6.5), who identifies the unnamed companion as Nathanael (presumably of John 1:45ff; 21:2).

119 Christopher Stade, trans., *The Explanation by the Blessed Theophylact of The Holy Gospel according to St. Luke* (Manchester, MO: Chrysostom Press, 1997), 318. Theophylact also relates that Luke, having lived in Jerusalem, was “much practiced in Hebrew,” Stade, 4.

bar-Šalibī cites Jacob of Edessa (d. 708 CE), claiming that Luke was a “Hebrew” who originally hailed from Alexandria.¹²⁰ Crediting Moses bar-Kepha elsewhere, bar-Šalibī also claims that Luke was an “Israelite by race” (*erat genere suo Israelita*), and repeats the tradition that he was among the Seventy(-Two) apostles.¹²¹

3.9 Jerome (347–420 CE)

Jerome writes about Luke in several of his commentaries and letters, describing the Evangelist slightly differently in almost every instance. Jerome’s own corpus thus exists as a microcosm of the patristic traditions about Luke as a whole.¹²² In the preface to his *Commentary on Matthew*, written in 398, he provides a short biographical sketch that reiterates Luke’s Antiochene origins:

The third [gospel] is Luke, the physician, a Syrian by birth from Antioch whose praise is in his Gospel, who also himself, a disciple of the apostle Paul, composed his book in the regions of Achaia and Boeotia,¹²³ tracing out certain matters more deeply, and as he himself admits in the preface, describing things that had been heard rather than seen.¹²⁴

Jerome almost certainly inherited this information from Eusebius, whose *Chronicon* Jerome translated into Latin in 381–382 CE. Yet in a letter written in 383 to his close friend and patron, Pope Damasus I, Jerome explains Luke’s excision of Hebraisms like *alleluia*, *amen*, and *hosanna* by arguing that since these words did not translate well into Greek, Luke must have thought it better to omit them entirely than to cause his readers to stumble over their meaning

As Wenham acknowledges, however, “How far [this] tradition goes back in the Byzantine church we have no means of knowing, and as it stands its value as history is almost negligible,” Wenham, “The Identification of Luke,” 29–30.

120 Dionysius bar-Šalibī, *In Acta Apostolorum* 19–25 (CSCO 20:23), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924061790014?urlappend=%3Bseq=31>.

121 bar-Šalibī, *Commentarii in Evangelia* (CSCO 99:177). Interestingly, bar-Šalibī is also familiar with a tradition that identifies the Greek physician Galen (ca. 129–200 CE) as the author of the Third Gospel, but he dismisses this attribution as a mere “phantasma.”

122 Strelan, *Luke the Priest*, 94.

123 Note how Jerome’s account appears to draw from the Gospel Prologue to Luke, even as he contradicts it: while Jerome says that Luke wrote his gospel in the regions of Achaia and Boeotia, the author of the Gospel Prologue says that Luke wrote the gospel entirely in the region of Achaia, relocating to Boeotia only near the end of his life.

124 *Comm. Matt.*, Pref. §2. Thomas P. Scheck, trans., *St. Jerome: Commentary on Matthew* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 53.

(*Ep. XX ad Damasum* §2, 4).¹²⁵ In his *Quaestionum hebraicarum liber in Genesim*, written in 388, Jerome claims that Luke was a gentile proselyte who was “ignorant of Hebrew letters.”¹²⁶ To my knowledge, Jerome is the first named patristic source to refer to Luke explicitly as a *proselytus*. This claim puzzled J.-P. Migne, who cites works by Origen and Epiphanius to suggest that Jerome may have been too quick to judge Luke to be a gentile.¹²⁷ In 392, Jerome also composed his *De viris illustribus*, a collection of brief summaries of the lives of apostles, saints, and other prominent figures in the early church, the seventh chapter of which is devoted to Luke the Evangelist.¹²⁸ Here once again Luke is identified with the anonymous brother “whose praise in the gospel is among all the churches” (2 Cor 8:18),¹²⁹ and notes that “some suspect” (*quidam suspicantur*) that Paul refers to Luke’s gospel whenever he uses the phrase “according to my gospel” (e.g., Rom 2:16). Jerome also believes that Luke consulted apostles other than Paul to write his gospel, but relied on his own personal eyewitness to compose Acts, which he wrote in Rome. According to *Vir. ill.*, after his death Luke was laid to rest alongside the remains of St. Andrew in Constantinople (*PL* 23:651b).

While Jerome appears to have left open the possibility that Luke understood Hebrew in his earlier letter to Damasus, he had nonetheless decided to the contrary by the time he composed *Qu. hebr. gen.* just five years later. It is obvious that Jerome’s understanding of Luke’s personal biography was an evolving one. With the exception of this latter text, however, nothing Jerome says about Luke in any of his other writings cannot be traced to an earlier patristic source. We are left with the possibility that he either had access to a separate tradition which established Luke as a gentile proselyte, or that Jerome himself made the inference, further constructing Luke’s biography upon the foundation of patristic traditions we have already examined.

3.10 *John Chrysostom (349–407 CE)*

If Luke were indeed an Antiochene as Jerome, Eusebius, and the author of the Gospel Prologue to Luke all claimed, it seems strange that Chrysostom, an Antiochene himself, would have been unfamiliar with this tradition. Yet nowhere among his extant writings does Chrysostom make such a geographical connection between Luke/Acts and Antioch. In fact, in a series of homilies

125 *PL* 22.1:377–78.

126 *PL* 23.3:1002b.

127 See Migne’s footnote at *PL* 23.3:1002d.

128 Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 7 (*PL* 23.2:650c).

129 “Scripsit Evangelium, de quo idem Paulus: ‘Misimus,’ inquit, ‘cum illo fratrem, cuius laus est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias ...’”

preached on the opening chapters of Acts, Chrysostom confesses that Luke's second volume did not share the same popular appeal as the gospel that bore his name: "To many, at least, this book is not even known, and to many it seems to be plain and so is disregarded anew" (*In principium Actorum* 1.3).¹³⁰ Chrysostom's second homily in the series, which purportedly addressed at length the question of the authorship of Acts, is, tragically, no longer extant.¹³¹ Like Origen and Ephrem, Chrysostom elsewhere identifies Luke as a companion of Paul and as the "anonymous brother" of 2 Cor 8:18 (*Hom. Act.* 1.1).¹³² Additionally, and similarly to Eusebius, Chrysostom affirms that "the gospel which [the Corinthians] received" from Paul (1 Cor 15:1) referred to an actual gospel *narrative* rather than the generic content of Paul's evangelistic message. According to Chrysostom, this narrative was none other than Luke's gospel.¹³³

3.11 *Epiphanius of Salamis* (ca. 310–403 CE)

Following a description and refutation of twenty different Hellenistic and Jewish sects, the first book of Epiphanius's *Panarion*, completed sometime between 374 and 378 CE,¹³⁴ concludes with *De Incarnatione*, a summary of the life, death, and ministry of Jesus. After narrating Jesus's resurrection and ascension, Epiphanius provides a brief and incomplete list of the first generation of Christian apostles:

And [Jesus] sent seventy-two others as well to preach, among whom were the seven who were put in charge of the widows, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolaus—but before them was Matthias, who was included among the apostles in place of Judas. After these seven, and Matthias who preceded them, he sent Mark and Luke, Justus, Barnabas and Apelles, Rufus, Niger and <the> rest of the seventy-two. After them all, and along with them, he chose the holy apostle Paul with his own voice from heaven to be at once apostle and herald of the gentiles and the one to complete the apostolic doctrine. It was

130 Michael Compton, "Introducing the Acts of the Apostles: A Study of John Chrysostom's 'On the Beginning of Acts'" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1996), 254.

131 Ibid, 254n38.

132 By the time he wrote his *Hom. in Cor.* 18.1, however, Chrysostom's views had apparently changed: He acknowledges that while "some" hold to the view that Luke is the anonymous brother, he himself had come to believe that the unidentified preacher was in fact Barnabas.

133 John Henry Parker, trans., *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Acts of the Apostles, Part I. Hom. I–XXVIII* (London: F. and J. Rivington, 1851), 3.

134 Frank Williams, trans., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Boston: Brill, 2009), xx.

Paul who found St. Luke, one of the seventy-two who had been scattered, brought him to repentance, and <made him> his own follower, both a co-worker in the Gospel and an apostle. And in this way all of the world of preaching the Gospel has been done, down to this time.¹³⁵

Here Epiphanius repeats several of the same biographical elements contained in the Hippolytean Apostles Lists, while also expanding upon their narrative details.¹³⁶ Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaus¹³⁷ are ordained as the first deacons of the early Christ-worshipping movement in Acts 6:1–6; the remaining apostles listed by Epiphanius comprise an assemblage of names found in various groupings throughout the New Testament. We find Barnabas and Niger among the prophets and teachers at Antioch in Acts 13:1ff (along with Lucius of Cyrene), and in his letter to the Roman church Paul greets both Apelles (Rom 16:10) and Rufus (16:13; cf. Mark 15:21) while sending greetings from his συγγενῆς Lucius (Rom 16:21). Finally, Lucas, Marcus, Justus, and Barnabas are all mentioned together in Col 4:10ff.¹³⁸ Although the specific relationship between these different apostles is unclear, it seems plausible that either Epiphanius or his sources conflated the Lucas of Col 4:14, the Lucius of Rom 16:21, and the Lucius of Cyrene from Acts 13:1 into a single apostolic figure.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 4.3–6. Frank Williams, trans., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (New York: Brill, 2009), 58. See also *Pan.* 51.11.5–6, which additionally specifies that Luke was the author of “Paul’s gospel,” and that Luke preached in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia. Curiously, while Epiphanius never explicitly connects Luke to the Acts of the Apostles, he does note that the Ebionites were said to possess a copy of Acts that had been translated into Hebrew (*Pan.* 30.3.9; 30.6.9; 30.12.10).

¹³⁶ According to Christophe Guignard, “Greek Lists of the Apostles,” the origin of both the Epiphanian and Hippolytean apostles lists is probably the *Anonymus I* manuscript tradition.

¹³⁷ It is unusual to see Nicolaus—a προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχεία (Acts 6:5)—listed among the apostles purportedly sent out by Jesus.

¹³⁸ Note that Epiphanius groups Luke alongside three of the men from the circumcision faction (assuming that Epiphanius or his sources believed the Marcus of Col 4:10 to be Mark the Evangelist), while no reference is made to Aristarchus, Demas, or Epaphras.

¹³⁹ Interestingly, while Epiphanius mentions Luke the Evangelist numerous times by name, and frequently cites from both Luke’s gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, he nowhere explicitly connects the authorship of Acts with Luke the Evangelist. Aside from the Hippolytean Apostles List tradition discussed above, Epiphanius is the only patristic writer I am aware of who does not clearly express this connection.

3.12 *The Muratorian Fragment*

By far, the most intriguing example of Luke's ambiguous biography may be found in the Muratorian Fragment:

The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. Luke, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him with him *as one zealous for the law* [*quasi ut iuris studiosum*], composed it in his own name, according to (the general) belief. Yet he himself had not seen the Lord in the flesh; and therefore, as he was able to ascertain events, so indeed he begins to tell the story from the birth of John ... Moreover, the acts of all the apostles were written in one book. For 'most excellent Theophilus' Luke compiled the individual events that took place in his presence—as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter as well as the departure of Paul from the city (of Rome) when he journeyed to Spain.¹⁴⁰

J.J. Armstrong has argued persuasively that the author of the Muratorian Fragment was Victorinus of Pettau, who composed the piece sometime around 258 CE as part of the introductory material for his *Commentarius in Matthaeum*.¹⁴¹ For the purpose of my argument here, however, there remain two important questions that must be addressed: First, does the text really read “as one zealous for the law,” or is this a corruption? Second, what, if anything, does this phrase imply about what the author of the Fragment believed about Luke's ethnic identity?

In what amounts to more than a century of “hearing hoofbeats and thinking zebras,” scholars of the Fragment have been at pains to “fix” the text, driven largely by what I believe to be an overriding assumption that Luke was

140 English trans. by Bruce Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 305–6, emphasis added. For a brief survey of the scholarly literature, see Eckhard J. Schnabel, “The Muratorian Fragment: The State of Research,” *JETS* 57, no. 2 (2014), 231–264. For a monograph-length treatment of its history and translation, see Clare K. Rothschild, *The Muratorian Fragment: Text, Translation, Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022).

141 J.J. Armstrong, “Victorinus of Pettau as the Author of the Canon Muratori,” *VC* 62 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 1–34. Victorinus was identified as a potential author of the Fragment as early as 1906 by D. Germain Morin, “Notes sur Victorin de Pettau,” *JTS* 7, no. 27 (1906), 456–459. On the suggestion that the Muratorian Fragment was a forgery designed to justify later views on canonicity, see Clare K. Rothschild, “The Muratorian Fragment as Roman Fake,” *NovT* 60, no. 1 (2018), 55–82. Cf., however, Christophe Guignard, “The Muratorian Fragment as a Late Antique Fake?: An Answer to C.K. Rothschild,” *RevScRel* 93 (2019), 73–90.

a gentile.¹⁴² With a few notable exceptions, scholars have broadly affirmed that the original text behind the Latin fragment was composed in Greek; the question has centered instead upon how best to reconstruct the Greek text.¹⁴³ In 1846, Martin Joseph Routh suggested that where the Latin manuscript reads *ut iuris*, a reconstruction of the Greek original would probably best be read τοῦ δικαίου (i.e., “for the righteous one”).¹⁴⁴ Von Bunsen, in his 1854 emendation of the Latin text, radically altered *ut iuris studiosum* to read *itineris socium* (Gk: συνοδοιπόρον), that is, Luke was Paul’s “traveling companion”.¹⁴⁵ Adolf Harnack retained the Latin text as the original (*quasi ut iuris studiosum*), yet argued *iuris studiosum* should be taken as an official title for a Roman legal specialist.¹⁴⁶ B.F. Westcott accepted the hypothesis that the Fragment was originally composed in Greek, but could not accept the phrase “for the law” as authentic: “The words *ut juris* must be corrupt. *Juris* might stand for τοῦ δικαίου, but not for τῆς δικαιοσύνης ... *Virtutis* seems to be nearer the sense.”¹⁴⁷ Similarly, in 1913, Alexander Souter replaced *ut iuris* with *adiutorem*, thus characterizing Luke as Paul’s “zealous assistant”.¹⁴⁸ Highlighting the tradition that Luke was a physician, according to Bruce Metzger, Bartlet suggested the original Greek

142 In his 1855 reconstruction of the Greek text, Paul Bötticher excised the questionable phrase entirely, reasoning that it simply “makes no sense”; Bötticher, “Versuch einer Herstellung des Canon Muratorianus,” 127–29 in *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. by A.G. Rudelbach and H.E.F. Guericke (Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke, 1854), 127.

143 B.F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, 4th ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), 210. cf. Edmon L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 175–76. Christophe Guignard has argued recently and convincingly that the Latin manuscript tradition derives from a Greek original. See Guignard, “The Original Language of the Muratorian Fragment,” *JTS* 66, no. 2 (2015), 596–624.

144 Martin Joseph Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1846), 406–7.

145 Christian Karl Josias Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 142.

146 Adolf Harnack, “Ius ecclesiasticum. Eine Untersuchung über den Ursprung des Begriffs,” 212–26 in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1903), 213. Several decades later, Arnold Ehrhardt would reaffirm Harnack’s argument; see Ehrhardt, “The Gospels in the Muratorian Fragment,” 11–36 in Ehrhardt, *The Framework of the New Testament Stories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

147 Westcott, *A General Survey*, 527n3.

148 Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 208. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* 305n2, mistakenly attributes this emendation to Buchanan. cf. E.S. Buchanan, “The Codex Muratorianus,” *JTS* 8, no. 32 (1907), 537–545 (540).

may have read νόσου (“disease”) rather than νόμου (“law”).¹⁴⁹ Hans Lietzmann emended *ut iuris* to read *litteris*; the author of the Third Gospel and Acts thus became a “studious writer.”¹⁵⁰

Even recent contemporary interpreters have either opted for one translation over another arbitrarily or glossed over the problem altogether. Following Ehrhardt and Harnack, F.F. Bruce proposed that Luke functioned for Paul as the equivalent of a Roman legal officer charged with the task of composing documents in the name of his superior.¹⁵¹ This understanding relies on the argument that the Muratorian Fragment was originally composed in Latin rather than Greek. Harry Gamble, following Zahn and Bunsen, offers the following English rendering: “This physician Luke, after Christ’s ascension, since Paul had taken him with him as a companion of his travels, composed it in his own name according to his thinking.”¹⁵² Andrew Gregory simply assumes the reading of “Paul had taken him with him as companion of his journey” to be the correct one, with no acknowledgment of the complicated editorial reception of this emendation.¹⁵³

The inconsistent history of the interpretation of the Fragment illustrates how the suggestion that Luke was “zealous for the law” has functioned as something of a *skandalon* for early modern translators and contemporary readers alike. Yet as early as 1867, Samuel Tregelles first proposed what I believe to be the most logical conclusion regarding the curious phrase: “It seems to me far more natural than the explanations [of Routh, Westcott, and Bunsen] to regard *juris studiosum* as the rendering of τοῦ νόμου ζηλωτήν.”¹⁵⁴ As a rationale for his reading, Tregelles cites the appearance of the phrase ζηλωνταὶ

149 See Metzger, *Canon*, 305n2. Metzger does not list a full source, attributing this view simply to “Bartlet.” The only article by an author with that name mentioned elsewhere in Metzger’s book is Vernon Bartlet, “Melito the Author of the Muratorian Canon,” *The Expositor* 7, no. 2 (1906), 210–24. This article, however, contains no reference to the proposed νόσου / νόμου solution. Though Metzger’s attribution has been reproduced by several other secondary sources and reprinted numerous times online, I have been unable to locate the exact source of this claim.

150 Hans Lietzmann, ed., *Das Muratorische Fragment und die Monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1908), 5. This is also the emendation adopted by Kurt Aland in *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 15th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 554.

151 F.F. Bruce, “Some Thoughts on the Beginning of the New Testament Canon,” *BJRL* 65, no. 2 (1983), 37–60 (56).

152 Harry Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon: Its Making and Meaning* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 93.

153 Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 41.

154 Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus: The Earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867), 31.

τοῦ νόμου in Acts 21:20. To Tregelles's evidence must be added an additional parallel with 1 Macc 2:15–28, in which Mattathias, father of Judas Maccabeus, kills a fellow Jew for making an improper sacrifice in Modein at the behest of Antiochus Epiphanes. The phrase “zeal/zealous for the law” (ἐζήλωσεν / ὁ ζηλῶν τῷ νόμῳ) appears twice in this narrative.¹⁵⁵ Later witnesses would eventually tilt the scales in favor of Tregelles's reading: the late-fourth-century bishop Chromatius of Aquileia appears to have relied heavily on the author of the Fragment in his own *Tractates on Matthew*, noting that Luke “was highly versed in the law” (*eruditissimus legis erat*).¹⁵⁶

Although the term ζήλος is commonly identified throughout ancient Greco-Roman literature as a morally neutral characteristic (i.e. “studiousness”), it also should not be overlooked that zeal for the Torah was one of the central identifiable virtues among Jews of the Second-Temple period.¹⁵⁷ In addition to the references in 1 Macc mentioned above, Paul claims that his own zeal for the Law was unparalleled before his apostolic calling (Gal 1:14, Phil 3:6) and he occasionally draws on the concept to refer negatively to Israel (e.g. Rom 9:30–10:4). Likewise, Josephus often employs the term as a descriptor of Jewish religious fervor.¹⁵⁸ It is not out of the realm of possibility, therefore, that the author of the Muratorian Fragment intended the word “zeal” to be understood in its Jewish biblical sense, referring not to Roman law, but rather to Torah.¹⁵⁹

155 Andrew Gregory notes that the Anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke maintains that the author remained a faithful Christian until his death at the age of 84 is probably derived from the description of Anna in Luke 2:36–37 (see Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 44). If this is indeed the case, perhaps the lifting of a phrase like ζήλωνται τοῦ νόμου from Acts and inserting it into the author's biography is not as much of a stretch as it first may seem.

156 Joseph Lemarié, “Saint Chromace d'Aquilée témoin du Canon de Muratori,” *REAug* 24, no. 1/2 (1978), 101–2 (101).

157 Vincent M. Smiles, “The Concept of ‘Zeal’ in Second Temple Judaism and Paul's Critique of It in Romans 10:2,” *CBQ* 64, no. 2 (2002), 282–99. So also David Daube, “Neglected Nuances of Exposition in Luke-Acts,” 2343. For an excellent study on Paul's use of the term, see Benjamin J. Lappenga, *Paul's Language of Ζήλος: Monosemy and the Rhetoric of Identity and Practice*, *BibInt* 137 (Boston: Brill, 2016). In the preface to his commentary on Acts, Theodore of Mopsuestia claims that Luke wrote Acts for those “who are zealous to devote themselves to piety,” but also insists that Acts recounts the dispensation by which “Christian conduct” supersedes the Jewish law (*Pro. Acts* 3:3; 4:1).

158 See Josephus *Ant.* 1.13.1; 4.4.1; 6.2.1; 8.8.14; 9.7.5; 10.2.1; 11.2.1; 11.4.4; 12.2.1; *et passim*.

159 On Luke's problematizing of the concept of violent expressions of Jewish zeal, see Gregory Rolan Perry, “Luke's Narrative Shaping of Early Christian Identity” (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, VA, 2008), 192ff.

Luke's concern for Torah observance is well documented. On this point I fully agree with David Smith that "whatever relegation, relativization, or reinterpretation of the Torah Luke may have envisioned, he nevertheless saw himself as upholding it."¹⁶⁰ My aim here, however, is emphatically *not* to insist on the historical accuracy of the Fragment with respect to Luke's identity, but rather once again to underscore the fact that the collective memory of Luke's biographical details—from the earliest Christian writers who expressed interest in the author of Luke/Acts onward—has always been a matter of dispute.¹⁶¹

4 Why Was Luke So Variouslly Remembered?

Though the ascription of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to an author named "Lucas" remained unchallenged from Irenaeus onward, frequent and subtle shifts in the tradition of Lukan authorship in the second, third, and fourth centuries reveal an undeniable plurality of contradictory details. Before I can begin to build a positive case for the Jewishness of Luke, it is necessary to attend to the problem of how Luke came to be remembered as a gentile in the first place, despite the relatively weak basis for such a tradition among the earliest Christian writings about him.

Since shortly before World War II, when Maurice Halbwachs first began to explore the concept of *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* ("the social frameworks of memory"),¹⁶² social memory theory has enjoyed an interdisciplinary revival in recent decades.¹⁶³ The application of memory theory to the discipline of New Testament studies in particular arose from a methodological problem

160 David Smith, "The Jewishness of Luke-Acts: Locating Lukan Christianity amidst the Parting of the Ways" (paper presented at the Institute for Biblical Research Annual Meeting unit on Early Christian Judaism, San Diego, CA, Nov. 2019), 10.

161 Note also that the biography proposed by the author of the Fragment appears to conflict with the biography known to the author of the Prologue: While the Muratorian Fragment claims that Luke was not present for either the martyrdom of Peter or Paul's departure for Spain, the Gospel Prologue to Luke says that Luke was a follower of Paul until Paul's martyrdom.

162 Halbwachs's earliest essays on memory have been published in English under the title *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See also the English translation of Halbwachs's similarly titled book, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

163 For a recent overview of the use of social memory theory since the mid-twentieth century, see Sven Bernecker and Kourken Michaelian, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2017), esp. "Collective Memory," by Jeffrey Andrew Barash, 255–267, and "Memory and Social Identity," by Robyn Fivush and Matthew Graci, 268–280. For a recent critique of memory theory as an independent discipline,

within the field: namely, the inadequacy of form criticism to explain some of the puzzling historical claims behind various New Testament texts.¹⁶⁴ Since Nils Dahl first highlighted this problem over half a century ago, the approach has enjoyed broad appeal among biblical scholars as a productive methodological paradigm.¹⁶⁵ It has also attracted its fair share of critics, many of whom argue that the method has suffered from distortion imposed by Christian scholars with ulterior apologetic motives.¹⁶⁶ The value of such an approach, however, is not in what it can tell us about the “real story” behind mythologized events, places, and people; indeed, whether deliberately or inadvertently, advocates of a social memory approach have championed a renewed period of “no quest” for the historical Jesus.¹⁶⁷ Rather, proponents of social memory theory seek to understand the social conditions that gave birth to those traditions in the first place—mythologized or otherwise. It is for this reason, I propose, that the collective Christian memory of Luke as a gentile has more to do with early Christian writers’ cultural context than it does with the “historical Luke.”

4.1 *Lieux de Mémoire*

In his landmark 1989 essay, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” Pierre Nora critiques the pretension of modern historiography to the disinterested collection and relation of historical facts, a development which he argues has emptied memory of its social values-laden function.¹⁶⁸ The rise of historiography as an academic discipline following the Enlightenment

see Sarah Gensburger, “Halbwachs’ Studies in Collective Memory: A Founding Text for Contemporary ‘Memory Studies’?” *Journal of Classical Sociology* 16, no. 4 (2016), 396–413.

164 For a critique of Form Criticism and its methodological limitations, see Morna Hooker, “Christology and Methodology,” *New Testament Studies* 17 (1971): 480–87; and Hooker, “On Using the Wrong Tool,” *Theology* 75 (1972): 570–81. Similarly, Werner Kelber, “The Generative Force of Memory: Early Christian Traditions as Processes of Remembering,” *BTB* 36, no. 1 (2006), 15–22.

165 See Nils A. Dahl, *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1974), 10–36; and Dahl, *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1976), 11–29. This latter article was based on a lecture delivered at the University of Oslo in 1946. For a retrospective on the application of social memory theory to New Testament studies, see Chris Keith, “Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One),” *EC* 6, no. 3 (2015), 354–76; and “Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part Two),” *EC* 6, no. 4 (2015), 517–42.

166 E.g., Zeba Crook, “Memory and the Historical Jesus,” *BTB* 42, no. 4 (2012), 196–203.

167 See, e.g., Dale Allison, *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010); and Chris Keith and Anthony Le Donne, eds., *Jesus, Criteria, and the Demise of Authenticity* (New York: T&T Clark, 2012).

168 Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–24 (11).

occurred at the expense of a shared and collectively remembered heritage, replacing organic social patterns of remembering and forgetting with a voracious compulsion to document and archive *everything*, no matter how significant or insignificant, in the hope of preserving a “fuller picture” of the past. Nora suggests, however, that something is lost when collective memory is effaced or abandoned in a misguided quest to discover “how things actually were.”¹⁶⁹ While the purpose of history as an academic discipline may be rightly described as a *reconstruction* of the past, collective memory instead contributes to the *construction* of the present.¹⁷⁰ While history is popularly construed as a detached and objective “God’s-eye view” of past events, memory belongs firmly in the realm of subjective particularity.¹⁷¹

As Nora sees it, collective memory—unlike history—represents a shared interior process by which groups construct the past for the purpose shaping their present (either consciously or unconsciously). In turn, this conditioning of the present shapes the conceptual faculties by which these groups are able to “remember” the past. This process used to be the conscious aim of ancient historiography, but Nora observes that memory of this sort has become a rarity in a progressively individualistic and fragmented society. “The less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs—hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age, attempting at once the complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past.”¹⁷² These “exterior scaffolding and outward signs” are what Nora calls “sites of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*):

Lieux de mémoire originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally ... We buttress our identities upon such bastions, but if what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need to build them. Conversely, if the memories that

169 For a discussion of Rankean historical method and how it has been undeservedly maligned, see Seth Heringer, *Uniting History and Theology: A Theological Critique of the Historical Method* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), esp. 1–104. For a shorter, more accessible summary of Ranke’s work, see Paul T. Phillips, *Truth, Morality, and Meaning in History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 23–30.

170 Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

171 Ibid, 9.

172 Ibid, 13. See also Sarah Pessin, “Cronos Swallows a Stone: From Calcified History to *Hineni*, ‘Enlivening Memory’ and the Call to Justice (On Creating a Levinasian Holocaust Memorial),” *University of Toronto Journal of Jewish Thought* 2 (2011).

they enclosed were to be set free they would be useless; if history did not besiege memory, deforming and transforming it, penetrating and petrifying it, there would be no *lieux de mémoire*. Indeed, it is this very push and pull that produces *lieux de mémoire*—moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.¹⁷³

These “shells” may be virtually anything that refers to the past and which a social group imbues with great cultural significance for the formation of its collective identity: an object (the Liberty Bell), a person (Martin Luther King, Jr.), or even a tradition or event (the annual celebration of Christmas as a secular holiday in the United States). Of course, not *everything* may be considered a genuine site of memory. There necessarily exists “a hierarchy, a set of limits, a repertoire of ranges” that qualify the category, since “some seemingly improbable objects can be legitimately considered *lieux de mémoire* while, conversely, many that seem to fit by definition should in fact be excluded.”¹⁷⁴ The primary condition for a site of memory, according to Nora, is *a collective will to remember*: “Without the intention to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be indistinguishable from *lieux d'histoire*.”¹⁷⁵ That is, the difference between a “site of memory” and a “site of history” is analogous to the difference between, on the one hand, what can be known about a family from their carefully preserved heirlooms which have been passed down from generation to generation, and, on the other, what can be gleaned about the same family from an archaeological dig through their kitchen midden. Not all things are intended to be preserved; memories of those objects, events, people, or narratives which *are* preserved reveal something about the values of those who choose to preserve them.

A second requirement, not unrelated to the first, is that sites of memory must possess a kind of “surplus of meaning.” That is, a *lieu de mémoire* must have a symbolic resonance that is irreducible to a single historical moment or interpretation. “*Lieux de mémoire* only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable

173 Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 12.

174 Ibid., 20.

175 Ibid., 19. Related to this point, in my view there are additional fruitful discussions to be had around *lieux de mémoire* and the process of canon formation. For a discussion of canonical texts and sites of memory, see Tobias Nicklas, “Neutestamentlicher Kanon, christliche Apokryphen und antik-christliche Erinnerungskulturen,” *NTS* 62 (2016), 588–609.

proliferation of their ramifications.”¹⁷⁶ As such, a site of memory “escapes from history” by bubbling over with social or cultural significance, becoming “a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated on its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations.”¹⁷⁷ Once again, while most modern historiography privileges the material datum, *lieux de mémoire* comprise and preserve expressions of collective values.

Finally, a site of memory may be constituted in three possible ways: material, symbolic, or functional.¹⁷⁸ An object, place, event, or person that fits only one of these categories becomes a *lieu de mémoire* by overlapping with one of the other categories. The Liberty Bell, for instance, is both material and symbolic. Nora provides two examples of his own: the failed Revolutionary Calendar, intended to re-reckon time according to the fixed date of the French Revolution; and the *Tour de la France par deux enfants*, a nineteenth-century travel book that fell into disuse, regained a popular nostalgic appeal for a time, and then was once again forgotten.¹⁷⁹

Given these criteria, I suggest that the Gospel of Luke and Acts also might be appropriately considered sites of memory, not only for early patristic writers, but for modern scholars, as well. But what makes Luke/Acts (and, potentially, their author) *lieux de mémoire*, as opposed to Josephus's *Antiquities*, for instance? Precisely the fact that the former were used in the foundation and construction of a new collective identity.¹⁸⁰ “Among history books,” Nora says regarding modern historiography, “only those founded on a revision of memory or serving as its pedagogical breviaries are *lieux de mémoire*.”¹⁸¹ They must exert some kind of symbolic force upon their cultural sphere. The introduction of Luke/Acts into the stream of church tradition ultimately helped to shape early Christian self-perception, while the available historical record offers us no evidence of such use of Josephus's *Antiquities*.

¹⁷⁶ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 19.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 23–4.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸⁰ A good example of a *lieu de mémoire* in the case of modern Israel would be the Dead Sea Scrolls or the Western Wall, and their import not just as *objets d'histoire*, but as constitutive monuments of Israel's own national identity. Nora also explicitly refers to the tablets of the Mosaic Covenant as a site of Jewish memory. Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 22. See also Ian Douglas Wilson, *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah* (New York: Oxford, 2017), 75 *et passim*; and Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁸¹ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 21.

More recently, Tobias Nicklas has appropriated Nora's work for his own study of early Christian identity formation.¹⁸² Nicklas's work deals primarily with collective memory relating to real or imaginative geography, or what he calls "landscapes of memory" (*Erinnerungslanschaften*).¹⁸³ Nicklas has noted how text, geography, and tradition work in tandem, creating a kind of feedback loop that reinforces collective memory associated with a specific place. For example, the establishment of a popular martyrrium dedicated to Thecla in late fourth-century Seleucia eventually led to an interpolation in some manuscripts of the *Acts of Thecla* that locates its protagonist in Seleucia at the end of her life.¹⁸⁴ In another example, Nicklas notes how traditions about particular locales give shape even to the religious rituals that come to be practiced in those spaces.¹⁸⁵ Though the Holy Family's flight to Egypt occupies a grand total of three verses in a single canonical gospel (Matt 2:13–15), an entire "itinerary" of liturgical and pilgrimatical traditions sprung up around this sojourn which persist in the Coptic Church to this day: "As usual, this 'landscape of memory' is not just connected to the past, but alive today (continuing to change) as a result of its impact on the Coptic (and other) Churches' self-definition."¹⁸⁶ There is a kind of "hermeneutical circle" at work here: A tradition born from an existing narrative (textual or otherwise) attaches itself to a specific location; the social significance of that location then reinforces the collective memory of the narrative tradition; the narrative tradition then reverberates back upon the collective memory associated with the place.¹⁸⁷

Thanks to the work of Tobias Nicklas, we have seen how texts and geographical locations may be regarded as *lieux de mémoire*. But what about people? Collective memory theory has produced fruitful work on figures as varied as Abraham Lincoln, Joan of Arc, and Rene Descartes.¹⁸⁸ Each of these figures

182 E.g., Tobias Nicklas, "New Testament Canon and Ancient Christian 'Landscapes of Memory,'" *EC* 7 (2016), 5–23.

183 See Nicklas, "Early Christian Literature," 94–99 in *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media*, ed. by Tom Thatcher (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), esp. 97–8.

184 *Ibid.*, 97.

185 Nicklas, "New Testament Canon," 9ff.

186 *Ibid.*, 10.

187 Another example worth mentioning here is *hakeldamach*, the "Field of Blood" associated with the death of Judas. In Matt 27:3–10 and Acts 1:18–19, Judas's death is described in wildly different terms, yet both accounts reveal a collective memory that associates Judas somehow with the potter's field outside Jerusalem. On the Semitic background of Acts 1:15–26, see David G. Monaco, "The Choice of Matthias in Acts 1:15–26," *Theol* 7, no. 2 (2017), 145–69.

188 Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Michel Winock, "Joan of Arc," 433–80 in *Realms of Memory: The*

may be properly designated as a *lieu de mémoire* by virtue of their status as “larger than life,” whose image evokes and imposes a system of collectively shared values onto the society that remembers them. In the field of New Testament studies, interest in social memory has also yielded illuminating research on a number of individuals featured prominently in the early Jesus tradition, the most obvious being Jesus himself, but also Simon Peter, and others.¹⁸⁹ In a remarkably similar example to that of Luke the Evangelist, Nicklas has drawn attention to the apocryphal sixth-century text, *The Acts of Titus*, in which Titus the companion of Paul is reimagined as a descendent of King Minos and ordained by the Jerusalem apostles. This “memory” draws upon the existing scriptural tradition of Titus’s mission to Crete (Titus 1:3), while also revising and expanding that tradition for the purpose of legitimizing the church in Crete at the time of the narrative’s composition.¹⁹⁰

“Every established group,” Nora says, “intellectual or not, learned or not, has felt the need to go in search of its own origins and identity.”¹⁹¹ Whether they are famous events, religious rites, narrative texts, or individual people, sites of memory help to galvanize communal self-definition, often by way of negative juxtaposition, or what Michel Foucault would call “counter-memory.”¹⁹² Maurice Halbwachs, the father of collective memory theory, wrote of the sort of social memory perpetuated by religious communities, “To appreciate a

Construction of the French Past, Vol. 3, ed. by Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); and François Azouvi, “Rene Descartes,” *idem*, 483–521. See also Nora’s work on *lieux de mémoire* and the interplay between noted authors and their memoirs; Pierre Nora, “Memoirs of Men of State,” 401–51 in *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). Though not a one-to-one correspondence, there is nonetheless some consonance between Nora’s focus here and that of apostolic memoirs (ὑπομνήματα) and their authors constituting sites of memory.

- 189 Dale Allison, *Constructing Jesus*; Frederick S. Tappenden, “On the Difficulty of Molding a Rock: The Negotiation of Peter’s Reputation in Early Christian Memory,” 263–87 in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: A Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. by Tom Thatcher (Atlanta: SBL, 2014); Helen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado, eds., *Peter in Early Christianity*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 75–94 in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, ed. by Alan K. Kirk and Tom Thatcher, *Semeia* 52 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005); Adam Kolman Marshak, *The Many Faces of Herod the Great* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015).

190 Nicklas, “New Testament Canon,” 18ff.

191 Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 15.

192 Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 139–64 in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard, trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 160.

religious movement or religious progress exactly, people must recall, at least in rough outline, the point from which they took their departure long ago.”¹⁹³ In religious communities, this “departure” almost always involves a separation from an already established tradition. He goes on:

To show the originality of Christian doctrine, the founders of Christianity (especially St. Paul) oppose it to traditional Judaism. Through terms borrowed from the Old Testament, and through an interpretation of the prophecies that the Jews understood only in the literal sense but that the new religion permeates with its spirit, Christianity is defined ... In its articles of belief, its dogmas, and its rites, Christianity is in effect above all the expression of a moral revolution which was a historical event, the triumph of a religion with spiritual content over a formalistic cult, and, at the same time, of a universalist religion with no reference to races and nations over a narrowly nationalist religion. But it would be hard to understand the impact of this history and this religion itself unless we see it as emerging against the background of Judaism.¹⁹⁴

Much of Halbwachs’s argument here is severely dated, no doubt influenced (at least in part) by the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German historicism that dominated the scholarly discussion regarding the emergence of Christianity from early Judaism. Nevertheless, I believe Halbwachs touches on a key point that remains a valuable insight to the present argument: As (gentile) Christians in the second, third, and fourth centuries increasingly looked to their collective past to understand and establish their identity, they also sought to distinguish themselves from their Jewish predecessors.¹⁹⁵

In light of a growing gentile-Christian movement, the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles provided early Christian theologians with grist for the polemical mill in their debates with early Jewish thinkers.¹⁹⁶ The *adversus Ioudaeos* genre emerged fairly early among Christian writers, with Luke

193 Maurice Halbwachs, “Religious Collective Memory,” 84–119 in *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 85.

194 Ibid, 85–6.

195 See also Gregory Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Boston: Brill, 2014); Miriam Taylor, *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus* (Boston: Brill, 1994); and Susan Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

196 On the way these debates played out in the biblical interpretation of Christian and early Jewish communities in antiquity, see Marc Hirshman, *A Rivalry of Genius: Jewish and Christian Biblical Interpretation in Late Antiquity* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1996); Emmanouela

and Acts serving as ethnically charged sites of memory for the construction of a gentile Christian identity.¹⁹⁷ In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin Martyr speculates on the “gentiles” (i.e., the church) becoming the new chosen people of God (*Dial.* 119–125, 130–136). Irenaeus cites Acts repeatedly in *Adv. haer.* 3.12, claiming that the Jews are ignorant of their own God, while gentiles have been purified of their idolatry and are now fit to worship God properly in Christ. In his infamous series of *Homilies Against the Jews*, preached in Antioch in the late fourth century to discourage gentile Christians from participating in the festivals of the “pitiful and miserable Jews” (ἀθλίων καὶ ταλαιπώρων Ἰουδαίων, Hom. 1), John Chrysostom peppers his orations with allusions to Luke and Acts.¹⁹⁸ Even more explicitly, Chrysostom begins Homily 25 of his *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles* with an invocation of Acts 13:46, insinuating that God has abandoned the Jews altogether and has expressed preference for the gentile Church as the primary agent of spreading the Christian Gospel. Even Origen, who lived and worked in close proximity to early Jewish intellectuals and was often sympathetic to their concerns, occasionally launches into super-sessionist invective in his *Homilies on Luke* (e.g., Hom. 5.4; 13.7; and the entirety of Hom. 33). To illustrate further the process by which Christians sought to distinguish themselves from Jews with special reference to Luke/Acts, I have reserved one final patristic source for the conclusion of this chapter: Ambrose of Milan’s commentary on the Third Gospel.

4.2 Ambrose of Milan (340–397 CE)

In his commentary on Luke, written near the end of the fourth century, Ambrose identifies the Evangelist as the anonymous brother of 2 Cor 8:18 (*Exp.*

Grypeou and Helen Spurling, eds., *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity* (Boston: Brill, 2009).

197 Cf., however, Phillip Fackler, “*Adversus Adversus Ioudaeos?*: Countering Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,” *J ECS* 23, no. 3 (2015), 413–44.

198 Chrysostom, “ΛΟΓΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ,” PG 48:844. See also Chrysostom’s “*Contra Iudaeos et gentiles quod Christus sit deus*,” PG 48:813–38. As Meeks and Wilkes observe, the rhetoric of these encounters would not have been so urgent had there not been a very concrete risk of proselytization between early Jewish and Christian communities: “[Christians in Antioch] would become active competitors with the Jews for the social as well as religious favors of the larger society, and finally the synagogue’s most dangerous enemy. The ambivalence is amply exhibited in Christian literature from Antioch. From Ignatius to John Chrysostom, Isaac, and Symeon Stylites, attacks on Judaism and on ‘Judaizing’ Christians grow in both ferocity and specificity. Yet those very attacks were occasioned by the attraction which Judaism continued to exert on Christians, in one way on ordinary church folk, in another way on their theologians, even those who attacked ‘Judaizing’ most vehemently.” Wayne Meeks and Robert Wilkes, *Jews and Christians in Antioch*, 2.

Luc. 1.11). He also observes that Luke writes in the style of a historian (Pro. 4), and that, perhaps more than any other Evangelist, Luke shows a keen interest in the Jewish priesthood (Pro. 7; 1.22; 3.13; 3.36; 10.118), a theme first touched on in the patristic literature as early as Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 3.11.8), but one that would also eventually be taken up by Augustine in his *Harmony of the Gospels* (1.3), and by others, as well.¹⁹⁹

Clearly, the evidence I have listed above shows that Ambrose was not the first patristic writer to employ anti-Jewish rhetoric in his prose. Ambrose's commentary, however, does mark a distinctive shift in the way Luke and his texts came to be discussed among early Christian writers, particularly as debates negotiating the ethnic and religious border lines between Jews and gentile Christians were heating up across the Mediterranean world. Ambrose consciously situates his commentary on Luke broadly within an ecclesiological framework that presupposes non-Jewishness as the norm: He understands Christians to be a new and separate "race" (*genus*, 6.104), comprising mostly gentiles (1.17, see also 5.89), and reads from Luke a divine mandate for this gentile Christian race to be the conduit by which God intends to "destroy the Jewish people" (*ut destrueret populum Iudaeorum*, 7.234), since "Jesus had forsaken the Jews to dwell in the heart of the gentiles" (9.1).²⁰⁰ While Luke's ethnicity was not a matter of great interest to our earliest Christian sources, as I have shown above, Ambrose draws together for the first time a systematically anti-Jewish ecclesiology using Luke as a foundation, which had until this point remained inchoate for the most part among the writings of earlier Fathers.

199 See also, for example, Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, 1.26. Curiously, Ambrose (*Exp. Luc.* 3.33) points to *Matthew* as being the most gentile-friendly gospel: "You can see now why Saint Matthew included foreigners in the genealogy that he drew up. He wanted, through the Church, to invite gentiles into the Church, and so he recalls that the Lord Himself, Author of this grand re-union of the nations, had foreign blood Himself. He wanted us to understand that the line that he was tracing was destined to produce the Author of the vocation of the nations," Íde M. Ní Riain, trans., *Commentary of Saint Ambrose on the Gospel according to Saint Luke* (Dublin: Halcyon Press, 2001), 80.

200 According to Ambrose, however, this enmity between Jews and Christians will ultimately be healed, though perhaps at the expense of Jewish particularity (*Exp. Luc.* 10.103): "In Herod and Pilate—formerly enemies but now friends through Jesus Christ—we see an image of Israel and the gentile nations. For the Passion of our Lord will one day bring them together in friendship; but in such a way that the gentiles first will welcome the word of God, and then, by their true devotion and faith, pass it back to the Jews. Then the Jews, in their turn will clothe themselves in the majestic glory of the body of Christ whom formerly they had despised," *ibid.*, 344.

4.3 *Remembering Luke, Forgetting Luke*

In her recent book, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, Sara Lipton illustrates how anti-Jewish imagery in medieval Christian churches initially began as a visual pedagogical device for Christian catechesis.²⁰¹ According to Lipton, early medieval theologians read the polemical debates between patristic Christian writers and early Jewish scholars, then divorced that rhetoric from its original context and replanted it among Christian communities across Europe. “At almost no point, I believe, did medieval Christian clerics or artists consciously set out to create an anti-Jewish visual repertoire, much less to inspire anti-Jewish violence or retribution,” she writes. “Rather, when they needed to think about how to see and understand the material world, they turned to a figure that had long stood for materialism and fleshly ritual [i.e., ‘The Jew’].”²⁰² By this time, the “sibling rivalry” between early Christians and Jews had long been settled; Christendom had permeated much of the known world, with the enthusiastic financial and political support of the late Roman Empire. As the contextual waters for this early Jewish-Christian rivalry receded and gradually were forgotten, the rhetorical “shells” that remained gave shape to later Christian perception of Jews:

The meaning and power of an artwork does not end with its original inspiration. The images we have seen appeared on material objects and in physical monuments made in and for a complex society. Though created to serve specific purposes, they were viewed, internalized, reimagined, and reused by a dynamic public. This process eventually affected broader Christian ideas, including perceptions of actual Jews, and influenced the subsequent history of Jewish-Christian relations: many of the representational changes anticipate later attitudes and restrictions. Distinguishing clothing appeared on Jews in art many decades before it was finally imposed in law. The assignment of specific features to the hostile Jew preceded and may well have encouraged the development of a science of physiognomy.²⁰³

This explains how early medieval historians and theologians like Bede—who lived in a cloistered monastery on the remote fringes of the British hinterlands

²⁰¹ Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014). For a similar treatment of patristic readings of “Jews” in the Gospel of John, see Michael Azar, *Exegeting the Jews: The Early Reception of the Johannine “Jews,”* (Boston: Brill, 2016).

²⁰² Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 279–80.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 280.

and very likely never encountered a Jewish person in his entire life—could nonetheless adopt the most vituperative language when writing about them in his own commentary on Acts.²⁰⁴ When Martin Luther wrote his 1543 treatise, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, he was without a doubt influenced by the same patristic authors as Bede, but also by his late-medieval predecessors who had read the Fathers' anti-Jewish rhetoric and put it to new use in their xenophobic scapegoating of Jewish communities across Europe.²⁰⁵ And when NT scholar Georg Bertram helped establish the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life in 1939, he and his colleagues were of course formed within a social milieu that had been saturated in the writings and cultural legacy of Martin Luther. This is precisely the process by which sites of memory are born: the past is collectively remembered (or misremembered), and that memory is then brought to bear on the present, despite being severed from its earlier historical environment. The social identity formed by *lieux de mémoire* involves an eternal cycle of collective forgetting, followed by a collective will to remember.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ E.g., Bede, *Comm. Acts* 5:23; Lawrence T. Martin, trans., *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), 59. On anti-Semitism in the writings of Bede, see Kathy Lavezzo, "Building Anti-Semitism in Bede," 79–107 in *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, ed. by Samantha Zacher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). My line of argument here is not altogether different from that of George Foot Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism," *HTR* 14, no. 3 (1921), 197–254; See also E. Leigh Gibson, who argues that this communal forgetting of context is precisely what happened in the case of later anti-Jewish interpolations to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*: "[A] contributor to *MPoly*, wanting to claim Polycarp's legacy for his brand of Christianity, uses a hostile depiction of Jews as a surrogate for criticizing Judaizing Christians. In this contributor's avoidance of a more direct attack, the original target, the Judaizers, recedes as the original context of the polemic shifts over time. Eventually, tensions over the place of Jewish law within the Christian community diminish and are replaced by those between Jews and Christians, producing the vexing interpretative challenge we have just examined," E. Leigh Gibson, "The Jews and Christians in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*: Entangled or Parted Ways?" 145–58 in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 158.

²⁰⁵ On the attitudes of Reformation-era Christians toward Jews, see Kenneth Austin, *The Jews and the Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2020). On the way in which Martin Luther's writings shaped modern anti-Jewish ideology, see Hans-Martin Kirn, "Martin Luther—Precursor of Modern Antisemitism?" 188–97 in *Hebrew Texts in Jews, Christian and Muslim Surroundings*, ed. by Klaas Spronk and Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman (Boston: Brill, 2018).

²⁰⁶ On the positive role forgetting plays in identity formation (rather than as a simple "failure of recollection"), see Paul Ricoeur's final work, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 412ff. See also: Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think*

The earliest patristic sources show comparatively little interest in the ethnicity of the author of Luke and Acts. It is not until the anti-Marcionite Gospel Prologues and Eusebius that Luke is claimed to be a Syrian from Antioch, though even this is disputed by later writers like Ephrem and other eastern Syriac theologians. The positive identification of Luke as a gentile coincides with increasingly vitriolic attempts by early gentile Christians to distinguish themselves from their Jewish rivals. Only at this point does the non-Jewishness of Luke/Acts and their author become the standard assumption, despite having so little evidence to its credit.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that many of the traditional claims for Luke's non-Jewishness are in fact based either on poor exegesis of the few New Testament texts that mention him, or otherwise based not on concrete evidence at all, but rather on an inherited collective *assumption* that Luke was a gentile. It is not even certain that the author's name was in fact Luke.²⁰⁷ As Robert Brawley has observed, "What is crucial for any concern about [the] authorship [of Luke/Acts] is that the identity of such an author *external to the text* provides no information whatsoever that proves to be beneficial for the interpretation of the Gospel."²⁰⁸ Even if none of the early patristic texts that discuss Luke's biography are of any value whatsoever with respect to their historicity, they illustrate a crucial starting point for the discussion that will follow: Luke is seldom explicitly identified as a gentile, and occasionally

(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), esp. 69–90; and Joseph G. Mueller, "Forgetting as a Principle of Continuity in Tradition," *TS* 70 (2009), 751–81.

207 With respect to the earliest independent reception of the authorship of Luke and Acts (via Irenaeus, the Muratorian Fragment, and the Anti-Marcionite Prologues), Gregory says: "It remains difficult to evaluate whether any of this testimony has truly the value of independent external testimony, or whether all of it has been extrapolated from anonymous texts of Luke and Acts which have gained their now current titles only as a result of such conjecture" Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts*, 44. Complicating matters even further, it cannot be known for certain that the scribe who copied P75, for example, was not himself already familiar with Irenaeus. See also Henry Cadbury: "Sometime before AD 180 the assignment [of the title of the Gospel According to Luke] was made, and before that date we have no records dealing with the authorship of the books. Evidence of their use may exist thirty years before, perhaps still earlier, but evidence of use is not evidence as to authorship. The origin of the assignment of the gospel and Acts to Luke is therefore uncertain," Cadbury, "The Identity of the Editor of Luke and Acts," 261–2.

208 Robert Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 6, emphasis added.

even remembered as a “Hebrew.” This observation alone ought to provide an opportunity to rethink current scholarly discussions regarding Luke/Acts and Judaism.

How did the later tradition come to identify Luke so consistently as a gentile if there was initially some confusion (or perhaps apathy) about his identity? The theory I have outlined is that a gentile Luke turned out to be a useful instrument in ancient polemical debates between proto-orthodox Christian theologians and their early Jewish intellectual counterparts. “When we look closely at the construction of past time,” Mary Douglas writes, “we find the process has very little to do with the past at all and everything to do with the present ... History emerges in an unintended shape as a result of practices directed to immediate, practical ends.”²⁰⁹ Or, as Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi succinctly puts it, “Myth and memory condition action.”²¹⁰ Pierre Nora has shown how everyday objects, events, and persons come to be imbued with the collective memory of the past, and that the reverence of these sites of memory in turn exert a surprising amount of influence over cultural constructions of the social self. Our recollections of the past persist in the kinds of stories we tell ourselves. These stories, according to Ian Douglas Wilson,

interact with one another, reinforcing particular episodes and ideas, and forgetting (or: bracketing) others. They are constantly (re)shaping the past and its meaning and import for the present and future. Thus, like an individual who constantly forges personal identity via the (re)shaping of one’s autobiographical narrative, societies continually (re)construct group identity via shared narratives about their past—narratives that often complement each other but sometimes paradoxically contradict one another ...²¹¹

Not only have centuries of subsequent readers engaged in this process while reading Luke and Acts; Luke’s two-volume work itself is an example of this very process. In the author’s narrative reinterpretation of Israel’s scriptures, we find a self-conscious reshaping of Israel’s past to meet the pressing theological and social conditions of the author’s present.

²⁰⁹ Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 69.

²¹⁰ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 99.

²¹¹ Ian Douglas Wilson, *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 30.

Tal Ilan’s work on Jewish naming conventions and grave goods shows how difficult it is to determine that someone long-dead once lived a life according to the beliefs and behaviors prescribed by Judaism—even those cases based upon reasonably solid archaeological data. On this point, I cautiously agree. In the case of Luke, however, we have not a simple etching of a menorah, a lulav, or an etrog carved in stone, but an entire narrative text that the author has left behind—an artifact that has been layered beneath centuries of interpretation and reinterpretation. If much of the later tradition about Luke the Evangelist, as Andrew Gregory has argued, rests squarely on Irenaeus’s shoulders, and if Irenaeus in turn drew his conclusions about Luke’s identity based on little other than what he had available to him among Paul’s letters and other proto-canonical texts, it seems as though a natural step toward an alternative historical perspective would be to return once again to the texts of Luke and Acts. As David Smith has argued, “The diverse possibilities for Jewish-Christian relations in the first century and our lack of firm extratextual guidance for ascertaining the specific context of Luke-Acts means that interpreters of all persuasions must base our historical reconstructions, in large measure, on clues derived from the text, whether our reconstructions move with or against the grain of Luke’s story.”²¹² First, however, the question must be raised: Can a text tell us anything about its author in the first place?

TABLE 2.1 Summary of Early Patristic Reception of Lukan Biography

	Irenaeus	Clement	Tertullian	Origen	Gospel Prologues	Eusebius	Apostles Lists	Ephrem	Jerome	Chrysostom	Epiphanius	Ambrose	Muratorian Fragment
Author of the Third Gospel	✦	✦	✦	✦	✦	✦		✦	✦	✦	✦	✦	✦
Author of Acts	✦	✦	✦	✦	✦	✦		✦	✦	✦		✦	✦
A companion/disciple of Paul	✦		✦	✦	✦	✦	✦		✦	✦	✦		✦
A second-generation Christian	✦		✦		✦	✦		✦	✦				✦
The “brother” of 2 Cor 8:18				✦					✦	✦		✦	
A physician	✦				✦	✦			✦				✦
Author of “Paul’s gospel” (i.e., Rom 2:16)	✦					✦			✦		✦		

212 David Smith, “The Jewishness of Luke-Acts,” 13.

TABLE 2.1 Summary of Early Patristic Reception of Lukan Biography (*cont.*)

[illegible]

Resurrecting Luke the Author

[E]very novel contains an element of autobiography—and this can hardly be denied, since the creator can only express himself in his creation.

JOSEPH CONRAD, *A Personal Record*

• • •

Luke the gentile is dead.

ISAAC OLIVER, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*

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•

In his watershed study on Torah adherence in the period following the destruction of the second Jerusalem Temple, Isaac Oliver proposes that the gospels of Matthew and Luke, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, should be read and interpreted as distinctly Jewish *texts*.¹ By framing his discussion thus, Oliver carefully avoids having to speculate to an unreasonable degree upon the life and embodied experience of the human being who gathered sources and plotted his narrative before finally putting stylus to papyrus. On the other hand, however, Oliver's reader is left with a doggedly perplexing question: Are not Jewish *texts*, after all, the work of Jewish *authors*?² Yet to insist upon the Jewishness of the *author* of Luke/Acts—as opposed merely to the text itself—draws into focus a complex range of attendant historical challenges and philosophical assumptions that must be dealt with before exploring the literary characteristics of Luke's two-part history of the early Jesus movement.

Having deconstructed the tradition by which Luke came to be known as a gentile in the previous chapter, we are now able to begin establishing a more

¹ Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

² This question is of course more complicated than may seem. Oliver does eventually move toward thinking about the historical author of Luke/Acts as a Jew, while acknowledging that such a claim is nevertheless fraught with methodological pitfalls; Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 447.

plausible portrait of the author based upon the texts he left behind. First, however, the question must be considered: Is such a project even feasible? In this chapter I propose that it is indeed possible to discern traces of Luke's own social and cultural background based upon the text of Luke/Acts. This is not, however, to suggest the recoverability of "authorial intention,"³ nor is it to insist that the meaning of a text is entirely reducible to the historical circumstances from which it emerged.⁴ Rather, I am suggesting that an author is never wholly separable from the text she creates, and autobiographical elements of the author's subjectivity are inevitably left behind as a kind of "residue" within the text. The driving question of this chapter, therefore, is this: What, if anything, can an otherwise anonymous narrative tell us about the lived experience of its author?

1 The Author Is Dead, and We Have Killed Him

In the last century, according to Andrew Bennett,⁵ theoretical discussions concerning the figure of the author have gravitated toward two primary axes: along the first axis, a great deal of literary-critical work has been done concerning the question of *authorial intent*—whether it can be known, and what to what extent it may exert influence upon a reader's interpretation of a text.⁶ On the other hand, the second axis typically comprises investigations into the autobiographical influence of the historically and socially constructed "flesh-and-blood" author. This book is concerned primarily with the *second* axis and its attendant questions.

3 Instead, in what follows I am attempting to work within what Sandra Heinen calls an "intentionalist framework, without assuming there is [only] one author with [only] one intention behind the text." Heinen, "Exegesis without Authorial Intention? On the Role of the 'Author Construct' in Text Interpretation," 7–23 in *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention? Interdisciplinary Approaches to Authorship and Meaning* (Boston: Brill, 2019), 19.

4 I am convinced by Paul Ricoeur's argument that surplus-of-meaning is a defining characteristic of textuality. See Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 1976).

5 Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 4–5.

6 On authorial intent in Luke/Acts, see David P. Moessner, "'Managing' the Audience: Diodorus Siculus and Luke the Evangelist on Designing Authorial Intent," 61–80 in *Luke and His Readers: Festschrift A. Denaux*, ed. by Reimund Bieringer, Gilbert van Belle, and Joseph Verheyden, BETL 182 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

1.1 *Wimsatt and Beardsley*

Two decades before Roland Barthes sounded the death knell for the “Author-God,” W.K. Wimsatt and M.C. Beardsley were already busy making funeral arrangements. In their 1946 essay, “The Intentional Fallacy”⁷—an expansion of an earlier literary dictionary entry on intention⁸—Wimsatt and Beardsley argue that because the mind and motivations of the poet are *terra incognita* for the reader of poetry (not to mention for the poet herself), the intentions of the author should be eliminated altogether as a reasonable criterion of critical assessment of the work.⁹ Whether native to the text or external to it, any explanations which supposedly reveal the author’s purpose in crafting the work should be understood only as the implied motivations of the “dramatic speaker” or narrator.¹⁰ Ultimately, Wimsatt and Beardsley argue, the crucial task of meaning-making that proceeds from the act of reading rests not with the *author*, but with the *reader*:

The poem is not the critic’s own and not the author’s (it is detached from the author at birth and goes about the world beyond his power to intend about it or control it). The poem belongs to the public. It is embodied in language, the peculiar possession of the public, and it is about the human being, an object of public knowledge.¹¹

Authorial intention is thus wholly inaccessible to the reader, “neither available nor desirable.”¹² Even for Wimsatt and Beardsley, however, it simply does not follow that biographical details from an author’s life are therefore inaccessible or irrelevant to the task of interpretation—quite the contrary! “The use of biographical evidence need not involve intentionalism,” they argue, “because while it may be evidence of what the author intended, it may also be evidence of the meaning of his words and the dramatic character of his utterance.”¹³ Wimsatt and Beardsley offer three categories of such evidence that bear

7 W.K. Wimsatt Jr., and M.C. Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” *SR* 54, no. 3 (1946), 468–88.

8 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “Intention,” 326–39 in *Dictionary of World Literature*, ed. by Joseph T. Shipley (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1924).

9 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” 468.

10 *Ibid.*, 470. On the concept of the “implied author,” see Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 70ff.

11 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” 470. One wonders how Wimsatt and Beardsley would analyze a poem crafted by a singular author for the enjoyment of a singular reader, perhaps (for example) a poem written to accompany a private love letter. Does such a work belong to the “public” by virtue of its having been written down at all?

12 *Ibid.*, 468.

13 *Ibid.*, 478.

consequences for interpretation: Evidence which is *internal* to the text itself and thus publicly accessible (e.g. semantics, syntax, and shared dictionaries of language and culture);¹⁴ evidence which is *external* to the text and thus private (e.g. journal entries, personal letters, and private conversations); and a third kind of *intermediate* evidence which reveals “the character of the author or about private or semi-private meanings attached to words or topics by an author or by a coterie of which he is a member.”¹⁵ Moreover, these three types of evidence are not weighted equally. While Wimsatt and Beardsley express skepticism regarding the tendency of the second and third categories to “shade into one another,” they nonetheless affirm the value of the first category, that evidence which is internal to the text itself, and even the third category (though perhaps to a lesser extent), which in our context ostensibly may involve early traditions surrounding the historical figure of Luke the Evangelist.¹⁶

It is not my aim to suggest that we can know with any degree of certainty Luke’s “pure” intentions when writing the Third Gospel and Acts. Arguably, however, the entire enterprise of biblical scholarship rests on the assumption that authorial intention—while perhaps not entirely recoverable—is nonetheless *approximable*, given adequate understanding of the *internal* characteristics of the text and the *intermediate* evidence of early traditions surrounding its author.¹⁷

1.2 Roland Barthes

Twenty years after Wimsatt and Beardsley, Roland Barthes shook the foundation of modern literary criticism with his essay “The Death of the Author,” originally published in 1967 in the avant-garde journal, *Aspen*.¹⁸ In the opening lines, Barthes asks a now-famous question regarding the voice of the omniscient narrator in Balzac’s “Sarrasine”: “Who is speaking thus?” Who, that is, has access to the minds and motivations of the characters of this story, and yet

14 These are Wimsatt’s and Beardsley’s terms; instead of “dictionary” I prefer the term “cultural encyclopedia,” on which, see chapters four and six below.

15 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” 478.

16 “A critic who is concerned with evidence of type (1) and moderately with that of type (3) will in the long run produce a different sort of comment from that of the critic who is concerned with type (2) and with (3) where it shades into (2),” *ibid.*

17 See, for instance, the exceptional essays found in Clarissa Breu, ed., *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention? Interdisciplinary Approaches to Authorship and Meaning* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

18 Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” 142–48 in *Image—Music—Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977). See also Barthes, “Theory of the Text,” 31–47 in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. by Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

is also imprisoned *within* the diegetic structure of the work? Are we meant to read this clairvoyant figure as the voice of Balzac himself? If so, *which* aspect of Balzac's subjective persona are we to understand is speaking? Or is the voice that of a god-like character who perceives everything occurring within the story-world without interfering in its plotted events? Barthes question uncovers a fundamental problem with literary interpretation: the ambiguity of the authorial subject and the widening void between author and text that opens up immediately upon the act of writing.¹⁹ "As soon as a fact is *narrated* no longer with a view to acting directly on reality but intransitively, that is to say, finally outside of any function other than that of the very practice of the symbol itself, this disconnection occurs, the voice loses its origin, the author enters into his own death, writing begins."²⁰ Unlike the evanescence of uttered speech, which requires the immediate presence of a speaker to contextualize its meaning, the written word exists completely independently from its point-of-origin, distinct from the motivations, desires, and biological lifespan of its creator. By its very nature then, the act of writing precipitates the "death" of its authorial source. "No doubt," Barthes declares, "it has always been that way."²¹

Barthes further contends that critical fixation on authorship coincided with the similar rise of the transcendent "individual," a conceptual product of the Enlightenment. According to Barthes, the "author" to which critics routinely refer is an ontologically void and utterly subjective construct of the critic's own mind. "Linguistically, the author is never more than the instance of writing, just as *I* is nothing other than the instance of saying *I*: language knows a 'subject,' not a 'person,' and this subject, empty outside of the very enunciation which defines it, suffices to make language 'hold together,' suffices, that is to say, to exhaust it."²² What Barthes is rejecting is the *univocality* of the text, an idea which, according to Barthes, proceeds directly from the author's quasi-divine status among modern literary critics. Moreover, by fixating on a text's "historical" author, the critic imposes an artificial set of restrictions upon how the text may or may not be interpreted.²³ For Barthes, these restrictions

19 Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 142.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid. The observation that writing slips through the restraints of its point of origin is indeed quite ancient; see Plato, *Phaedr.* 274c. Paul Ricoeur reached a similar conclusion; see Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, esp. 25–44. See also Jacques Derrida, "The Voice that Keeps Silence," 70–87 in *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973); cf. Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997) 115.

22 Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 145.

23 "The *explanation* of a work is always sought in the man or woman who produced it, as if it were always in the end, through the more or less transparent allegory of the fiction, the voice of a single person, the *author* 'confiding' in us," *ibid.*, 143, emphasis original.

undermine the fundamentally open nature of textual meaning.²⁴ The consequences of the death of the author, then, are radical and vast. With no author to restrict the range of possible interpretations, a text becomes effectively boundless. What, then, of the historical person(s) who composed the text in the first place? Barthes proposes instead that we speak of a “scriptor” who now occupies the position once held by the Romantic author of “inspired genius.” Barthes’s scriptor is reducible to the mere “dictionary from which [the scriptor] draws a writing that can know no halt: life never does more than imitate the book, and the book itself is only a tissue of signs, an imitation that is lost, infinitely deferred.”²⁵

The liberation of the text from its authorial fetters radically alters how we think about the text itself: “The text is henceforth made and read in such a way that at all its levels the author is absent.”²⁶ Ironically, however, this displacement for Barthes opens the possibility for the apotheosis of a transcendent “reader,” the only entity in which meaning or the sense of a text can be made.²⁷ “A text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he is simply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted ...”²⁸ It is here, however, that Andrew Bennett notes the puzzling contradiction in Barthes’s argument: By granting interpretative supremacy to the reader, Barthes simply exchanges the tyranny of one subjective unity—the author—with that of another supposed subjective unity—the reader.²⁹ Be that as it may, Barthes appears perfectly content to make such a trade. “[T]he birth of the reader,” he concludes, “must be at the cost of the death of the Author.”³⁰

1.3 *Michel Foucault*

Barthes’s essay, rather than representing the final nail in the author’s coffin, instead set off an explosion of subsequent critical interest in authorship theory.³¹ While Barthes’s preference for iconoclasm led him to some rather ham-fisted conclusions, Michel Foucault took a more surgically precise

24 Ibid, 147.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid, 145.

27 Ibid, 148.

28 Ibid.

29 Bennett, *The Author*, 18. Seán Burke notes a similar irony in the way Wimsatt and Beardsley’s denial of intentionality behind the text in turn elevates the text itself to a “transcendental status.” See Burke, “The Biographical Imperative,” *Essays in Criticism* 52, no. 3 (2002), 191–208 (200).

30 Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” 148.

31 Bennett, *The Author*, 9.

approach to authorship in his 1969 lecture, "What Is an Author?"³² Contrary to Barthes, for Foucault, the author is—as his title suggests—an "open question".³³ In response to Barthes's question, "Who is speaking thus?" Foucault opens his lecture by asking, "What does it matter who is speaking?" Accordingly, Foucault is less concerned with the author's life or death than he is with the question of *what role the author plays in discourse*.³⁴ Consequently, Foucault's exploration of this question serves both as a warrant for investigation into the author-function of Luke the Evangelist, as well as a bridge between the Death of the Author and more recent efforts to revive the Author.

God has been declared dead; what is left in the void of the deity's absence? Foucault wishes to understand what this means for the author, as well. Echoing Barthes, Foucault sees a parallel "kinship" between the act of writing and death.³⁵ For Foucault, writing involves a kind of "voluntary obliteration of the self."³⁶ In contrast to Barthes, however, Foucault turns the death of the author around: the Romantics once believed that the written text secured immortality for its author, but Foucault instead sees the text as its author's murderer.³⁷ Yet in acknowledging the death of the author, Foucault also suggests that the implications of Barthes's initial thesis have yet to be fully realized. If the author is truly dead, for instance, in what sense is a work still a "work"?³⁸ While he carefully avoids any attempt to *resurrect* the author, Foucault nonetheless observes that Barthes's declaration requires further elaboration and refinement to account for some embarrassingly obvious questions that arise in response.³⁹ "If an individual is not an author," for example, "what are we to make of those things he has written or said, left among his papers or communicated to others?"⁴⁰ Yet this, too, raises a further question: What writings should be included among an

32 Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" 113–138 in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard, trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977).

33 Ibid, 113.

34 "We should reexamine the empty space left by the author's disappearance; we should attentively observe, along its gaps and fault lines, its new demarcations, and the reapportionment of this void; we should await the fluid functions released by this disappearance," *ibid*, 121.

35 Ibid, 116. See also Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 80.

36 Foucault, "What Is an Author?" 117.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid, 118.

39 Foucault also acknowledges the contradiction in Barthes's thought that I have outlined above. Discussing his notion of *écriture*, Foucault writes, "In granting a primordial status to writing, do we not, in effect, simply reinscribe in transcendental terms the theological affirmation of its sacred origin or a critical belief in its creative nature?" *Ibid*, 120.

40 Ibid, 118.

author's "works," and who makes those decisions? Should a laundry bill found in one of Nietzsche's notebooks, for instance, be included among his "collected works"? The point Foucault is trying to make here is that what constitutes a "work" is a process involving persons other than the singular author of the text. This observation in turn calls into question the very idea of authorship itself.⁴¹

For Foucault, questions such as "Who is the real author? Have we proof of his authenticity and originality? What has he revealed of his most profound self in his language?" are of little consequence.⁴² Instead, Foucault concerns himself with questions pertaining to what he dubs the "author-function"—specifically, how has the *role* of the author guided readerly presuppositions? Foucault outlines four features of this "author-function"—that is, the author as a function of discourse.⁴³ First, in our contemporary context, the author-function is deeply rooted in concepts like copyright law and artistic property rights, which in turn belong to a broader legal and institutional discursive framework of authority.⁴⁴ Second, although Foucault acknowledges that there are certain "transhistorical constants" in the way author-functions arise, nevertheless they do not fulfill the same roles across all times, cultures, and discourses.⁴⁵ The authority of an anonymous folktale, for example, does not share the same author-function as a name identified with a scientific paper published in a peer-reviewed journal.⁴⁶ Third, not just any authorial attribution constitutes an author-function, but only those which contribute to an overall portrait of the author that becomes, in a sense, "larger than life." It is one thing to say, "Here is a poem written by my great-grandfather Roger"; it is another entirely to say, "Here is a poem written by W.H. Auden." The veil of literary or intellectual prestige that may be implied by the name "W.H. Auden" is what Foucault would call a psychological projection of the reader's understanding of the text; by contrast, this psychological projection would *not* accompany the name "Roger" in quite the same way.⁴⁷ Finally, according to Foucault the author-function should not be understood merely as a linguistic stand-in for the "flesh-and-blood author."

41 Ibid, 119. Similar arguments have been forwarded regarding authorship theory and the Pauline epistles. See, e.g., Charles H. Talbert, *Ephesians and Colossians*, PCNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 7–9; Stanley E. Porter and Gregory P. Fewster, eds., *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, PS 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Jermo Van Nes, "On the Origin of the Pastorals' Authenticity Criticism: A 'New' Perspective," *NTS* 62, no. 2 (2016), 315–320.

42 Foucault, "What Is an Author?" 138.

43 Ibid, 130–1. Foucault acknowledges, however, that there may be additional features other than the ones he outlines.

44 Ibid, 124–5.

45 Ibid, 127.

46 Ibid, 125.

47 Ibid, 127.

Rather, the term encompasses the wider scope of the various egos and subjects who occupy the author-function at any given point (e.g., not only Nietzsche himself, but also the first-person narrator of *Ecce Homo*, as well as Nietzsche's dry-cleaner, and the editor who determines whether to include the laundry bill among Nietzsche's complete works).⁴⁸ Thus the author-function reaches beyond the limits of the Barthesian "scriptor" to incorporate an entire community of agents whose activity is represented in a given work.

In the ears of a Western reader, for example, the name "Shakespeare" carries with it an extensive author-function. If we were to discover that William Shakespeare was not actually born in the house believed by tourists to be his childhood home, Foucault says that this would not drastically alter our understanding of Shakespeare's oeuvre. On the other hand, if we were to unearth reasonably certain evidence that Shakespeare did not in fact write the sonnets now attributed to him, Shakespeare's author-function within literary and popular discourse would be irreversibly transformed.⁴⁹ In this way, Foucault argues, an author's name "oscillates between the poles of description and designation, and, granting that they are linked to what they name, they are not totally determined either by their descriptive or designative functions."⁵⁰ The reader's expectation surrounding the author-function of the text therefore shapes their understanding of the narrative. To connect this briefly to Luke and Acts: If since Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses*, for example, the author of the Third Gospel and Acts has been equated with the "beloved physician" of Col 4:14, then what Foucault refers to as the "author-function" of these texts currently depends to a large extent upon the expectations of readers subsequent to (and perhaps informed by) Irenaeus.

Like Barthes, Foucault restricts his discussion primarily to the arena of fiction and poetry. Anticipating an objection to this limitation, however, Foucault observes that "*all* discourse that supports this 'author-function' is characterized by a plurality of egos."⁵¹ The author of this book chapter, for instance, is not entirely the same Joshua who first proposed and later defended the present work as a doctoral dissertation. Thus, in a way similar to Barthes, one consequence of Foucault's argument is effectively to erase the univocal Author-God, who fades into a backdrop of competing subjectivities as simply one more author-function among others.

48 Ibid, 130–31.

49 Ibid, 122.

50 Ibid, 121–2.

51 Ibid, 130.

At the same time, however, Foucault does not share Barthes's enthusiasm for pitching the authorial baby out with the proverbial bathwater: "It would be false to consider the function of the author as a pure and simple reconstruction after the fact of a text given as passive material, *since a text always bears a number of signs that refer to the author*."⁵² He lists personal pronouns, verbs of time and place, and the conjugation of verbs as textual signposts of flesh-and-blood authorial presence. Foucault thus provides something of a "road map" for thinking about Lukan authorship beyond the blockade constructed by Wimsatt and Beardsley and Barthes. In contrast to the former, Foucault avoids dwelling on the reader's inability to know what the author "intended." Against the latter, Foucault seeks not so much to assassinate the author as much as to complicate the very definition of authorship itself. In Foucault no less than in Barthes, the singular "flesh-and-blood" author fades into oblivion. Yet unlike Barthes, Foucault acknowledges several related questions that lie outside his scope of inquiry which deserve attention, nonetheless. These questions include:

[H]ow the author was individualized in a culture such as ours; the status we have given the author, for instance, when we began our research into authenticity and attribution; the systems of valorization in which he was included; or the moment when the stories of heroes gave way to an author's biography; the conditions that fostered the formulation of the fundamental critical category of "the man and his work."⁵³

Within these various contingencies, there is yet perhaps a sign of life stirring. The author, it seems, has been only *mostly* dead.

2 Reports of the Author's Death Were an Exaggeration

Proponents of the author's demise are not without critics of their own. A growing number of scholars have come to share Sandra Heinen's assessment that "Foucault and Barthes's criticism can be understood as a general criticism of the desire to (re)construct a text's (sole) meaning, because both thinkers favor, for ideological reasons, ambivalence and polysemy."⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Death of the Author movement has left a massive open question in its wake: If the

⁵² Ibid, 129, emphasis added.

⁵³ Ibid, 115.

⁵⁴ Heinen, "Exegesis without Authorial Intention?" 9.

author is in fact dead, what then shall replace the author? The authoricide acknowledged (and encouraged) by reader-response critics can only ever result in what Paul Ricoeur calls the “fallacy of the absolute text.”⁵⁵ For Ricoeur, neither the author nor the reader should be privileged; rather, the text itself should have pride of place. Through the process of “distanciation,” the text slips beyond the grasp of the psychological intention of historical author and enters the world of textual meaning. This meaning, however, is not entirely constructed within the subjective reader, but instead involves a hermeneutical negotiation between reader, text, and context. Ricoeur thus provides a convenient segue to help us bridge the work of the most extreme reader-response critics like Roland Barthes on the one hand, and the “return of the author” critics on the other. While the psychological intent of the historical author is ultimately irretrievable, Ricoeur nevertheless insists that this does not mean that the historical author ceases to exist. Instead, the (non-metaphorical) death of the author serves as an event horizon, beyond which their personal intentions are lost forever.⁵⁶ While for Ricoeur, this means that the text itself must become the primary focus of interpretation,⁵⁷ other theorists like Wayne Booth and Seán Burke have sought to reconfigure the language with which we speak of authorship and thereby revive the author.

2.1 *Wayne C. Booth*

Before Barthes’s publication of “La mort de l’auteur,” Wayne Booth had already formulated a theoretical bypass to the challenges of Wimsatt and Beardsley. In *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, first published in 1961, Booth addresses the aesthetic claim that writers ought to be “objective” and “neutral” in their art, thereby taking upon themselves the transcendent persona that Barthes rightly rejected.⁵⁸ Yet an author would indeed be prudent to consider their reader, and to avoid imposing their own “unfiltered” biases upon a captive audience. If the purpose

55 Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30. Umberto Eco has also worked to put a leash on the infinite reproduction of textual meaning. See Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991). There are clearly limitations to interpretation—yet who sets those restrictions is still a matter of debate.

56 Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30. Gregory Laughery maintains that this position is inconsistent with Ricoeur’s own ethical philosophy: “It is certainly true that the intentionality of an author may not always be transparent, but it nevertheless, in concern for the Other and others, demands an interpreter’s attention.” Laughery, “Reading Ricoeur: Authors, Readers, and Texts,” *EuroJTh* 9, no. 2 (2000), 164.

57 This perspective is also shared by Oda Wischmeyer, “Author—Text—Intention,” in *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention?*, 31.

58 Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

of the novelist's craft is to generate a point of mutual connection or even sympathy between author and reader, then some attempt at authorial neutrality would indeed be desirable to appeal to the widest possible audience. "To put it this way, however," Booth argues, "is to understate the importance of the author's individuality":

As [the author] writes, he creates not simply an ideal, impersonal "man in general" but an implied version of "himself" that is different from the implied authors we meet in other men's works. To some novelists it has seemed, indeed, that they were discovering or creating themselves as they wrote ... Whether we call this implied author an "official scribe," or adopt the term recently revived by Kathleen Tillotson—the author's "second self"—it is clear that the picture the reader gets of this presence is one of the author's most important effects. However impersonal he may try to be, his reader will inevitably construct a picture of the official scribe who writes in this manner—and of course that official scribe will never be neutral toward all values. Our reactions to his various commitments, secret or overt, will help to determine our response to the work.⁵⁹

While many "implied authors" share certain similar values such as "benevolence and generosity," Booth argues that the reader who engages in more than a surface-level reading of any text will find an authorial persona unique to each work.⁶⁰ Although the "flesh-and-blood" author behind a text may indeed be off-limits to the reader, the critic may nonetheless speak intelligibly about the author *implied* by the text itself.⁶¹ Booth's work has been deployed widely in the service of biblical criticism in subsequent decades, so I will not belabor the point any further here.⁶²

59 Ibid, 70–1.

60 Ibid, 72.

61 Ibid, 75.

62 E.g., R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); Vernon K. Robbins, "The Social Location of the Implied Author of Luke-Acts," 305–332 in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. by Jerome Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991); Robert Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995). For a recent self-assessment of Booth's "implied author," see Booth, "Resurrection of the Implied Author: Why Bother?" 75–88 in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. by James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2008).

2.2 Seán Burke

Seán Burke has made it the capstone of his philosophical career to draw attention to what he calls “the death and return of an author who had never gone away in the first place.”⁶³ Burke sees in the poststructuralists like Barthes and Foucault an inability or unwillingness to recognize that both author *and* reader are engaged in the shared work of meaning-making; thus for Burke (as for Ricoeur) the authorial question is never determined solely by the historical author *or* entirely within the subjective mind of the reader. Rather, responsible interpretation recognizes that the historical author and the reader meet in the alchemical composition of the text.⁶⁴ The discernment and negotiation of textual meaning, therefore, is always a *collaborative* enterprise.

One might assume, with Wimsatt and Beardsley and Barthes, that the singular Author is a modern phenomenon. Burke, however, argues that the inchoate seeds of this construct were already present among Classical Greek writers and medieval Christian *auctors*.⁶⁵ Burke specifically looks to ancient practices of biblical exegesis for evidence of authorial presence: “Biblical exegesis, seeing Scripture as emanating from that most radical of alterities, the Divine Will, fully accepted that authorial intention (*intentio auctoris*) could be at most a concause in the texts’ coming into being.”⁶⁶ Part of the problem, he argues, is that premodern authorship was understood to be a matter primarily of *public* concern rather than any private subjective genius. According to Burke, unlike modern authorship—which, as Foucault observed, is bound to institutional structures and norms that govern property rights, artistic ownership, and authenticity—ancient conceptions of authorship rested on the presupposition that divine authorial inspiration came for the purpose of being *publicly proclaimed* rather than *privately consumed*.

For Burke, this point reveals an unavoidable contradiction within the implied aims of the anti-author movement: The Barthesian critique of the Author as the pipe dream of Romantic belletrists, according to Burke, is itself a thoroughly Romantic perspective. In short, while Barthes and other reader-response critics may *think* their work represents a radical departure from an earlier Romantic period, they actually reinforce the very ideology

63 Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), xvii.

64 Burke, “Reconstructing the Author,” xv–xxx in *Authorship from Plato to the Postmodern: A Reader*, ed. by Seán Burke (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), xvii.

65 Ibid, xvii.

66 Ibid.

they intend to reject.⁶⁷ Likewise, postmodernism is still thoroughly rooted in the paradigm of modernity: "Impersonality, like disinterestedness, would seem then to arise as a reflex or defense in simultaneously acknowledging the ascendance of subjectivity while guarding against its more destabilizing ramifications ... No less than within romanticism, the reaction against subjectivity once more shows that its terms are governed by the era of subjectivity."⁶⁸

If we have failed to understand the authorial presence, Burke claims, it is because we have too closely identified the author with the transcendent and objective Author-God, the "unmoved mover" who dispassionately conveys their revealed will through the written word. Barthes may have identified the Author in such transcendent theological terms, but he was by no means required to do so. An additional misstep, according to Burke, was to displace this transcendence from the Author onto the Reader. In this declaration, Burke agrees with Foucault.⁶⁹ "[T]he only way of fulfilling the implicit demands of the Death of the Author consists in returning to the question of the author. Such a return implies further that the ontologies of the author and the subject might provide a positive space for those general crises in thought that announce themselves as the postmodern."⁷⁰

Burke's position, in sum, is that the denial of metanarrative that became the hallmark of the postmodern rejection of the Author *is itself a metanarrative*. The entire Barthesian project is thus a fundamentally ouroboric task: It requires a subject to insist that the subjectivity behind a text is dead. There is a kind of tragic irony, too, Burke asserts, in the fact that the erasure of the Author also nullifies the particularity which Marxist, feminist, and postcolonial critics rely upon for their analyses. Postcolonial theory in particular banks upon the notion that there is a specific subject capable of expressing the experience of colonization in the first place.⁷¹

For Burke, the author-as-subject may only be glimpsed within their work. Against Barthes and Foucault, Burke argues that it is not the authorial subject who is obliterated in the act of writing, but rather the author's own *intent*.⁷² If the authorial subject does indeed maintain some sort of ontological

67 "All too often, the idea of a 'break' or 'rupture' in thought asserts radical discontinuity in place of the subtler modes of realignment by which an age or epoch inherits traditional categories while decisively modulating their relations," *ibid.*, xix.

68 *Ibid.*, xxiii.

69 *Ibid.*, xxiv.

70 *Ibid.*, xxv.

71 *Ibid.*, xxviii.

72 Burke, "The Biographical Imperative," 196.

relationship to their work, they must be discerned *within* the text; otherwise, the critic risks simply displacing the transcendent ego from the Author to the Reader.

2.3 *Recent Approaches*

Author profiling and forensic linguistics are not exactly new, illustrated by famous examples like Roger Shuy, or the 1996 arrest of Theodore Kaczynski.⁷³ More recently, however, the fields of cognitive and computational linguistics have made new inroads into the field of literary criticism. In the last decade, for instance, Lisa Zunshine has championed the application of cognitive studies and theory of mind to literary narrative.⁷⁴ Similarly, Richard Gerrig and Micah Mumper have established through quantitative data analysis something that theorists of subjectivity have long understood: that readers' personal experience shapes the way they interpret narrative texts.⁷⁵ We might reasonably wonder if this would be any different for authors themselves. Peter Garrard has also demonstrated the fruitfulness of computational linguistics for authorial analysis. Garrard, working with a host of interdisciplinary co-authors, employs "cognitive archaeology" to identify speech and writing patterns associated with dementia, Alzheimer's disease,⁷⁶ and hubris syndrome,⁷⁷ and has even diagnosed historical persons with various neurological and psychological disorders based upon analyses of their writings.⁷⁸ Similarly, Aleksandra Niewiara has

73 Roger W. Shuy, *Language Crimes: The Use and Abuse of Language Evidence in the Courtroom* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997); Dave Davies, "FBI Profiler Says Linguistic Work Was Pivotal in Capture of Unabomber," *NPR*, Aug. 22, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180910222629/https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=545122205&t=1536617392507>.

74 See, e.g., Zunshine, "Theory of Mind, Social Hierarchy, and the Emergence of Narrative Subjectivity," 161–86 in *The Emergence of Mind: Representations of Consciousness in Narrative Discourse in English*, ed. by David Herman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

75 Richard J. Gerrig and Micah L. Mumper, "How Readers' Lives Affect Narrative Experiences," 239–57 in *Cognitive Literary Science: Dialogues between Literature and Cognition*, ed. by Michael Burke and Emily T. Troscianko (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

76 Peter Garrard, "Cognitive Archaeology: Uses, Methods, and Results," *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 22 (2009), 250–65; See also Kathleen C. Fraser, "Linguistic Features Identify Alzheimer's Disease in Narrative Speech," *Journal of Alzheimer's Disease* 49 (2016), 407–422.

77 Garrard, et al., "Linguistic Biomarkers of Hubris Syndrome," *Cortex* 30 (2013), 1–15.

78 Peter Garrard and Timothy Peters, "Computer-based Diagnosis of Neurological and Psychiatric Illness in Historical Persons," *Journal of the Neurological Sciences* (2013), e648, DOI: 10.1016/j.jns.2013.07.2250; Garrard, et al., "Attenuated Variants of Lesch-Nyhan Disease: The Case of King James VI/1," *Brain: A Journal of Neurology* 133 (2010), e153, DOI: 10.1093/brain/awq156; Vassiliki Rentoumi, et al., "The Acute Mania of King George III:

employed lexical analysis and vantage theory successfully to reconstruct the subcultural perspectives behind Polish punk and hip-hop lyrics.⁷⁹ I will take up the application of cognitive linguistics to Lukan studies in the final chapter of this book; for now, however, it is sufficient to note that Barthes's proclamation of the author's demise has done little to deter subsequent scholarly interest in theorizing authorship across the disciplinary spectrum. Furthermore, it should be noted that most of these attempts to retrieve some sense of authorial biography or glimpse the "world behind the text" involve an interdisciplinary blend of insight from the social sciences, neuroscience, and literary criticism, as well as a sustained and rigorous engagement with the text itself. Interdisciplinarity is crucial for understanding the portrait of Luke proposed in this book.

As with most other theoretical trends, however, the Death of the Author seems to have gone largely unnoticed within the discipline of biblical studies. This is slowly but surely changing, however, as critics have begun to rethink old assumptions and explore new approaches to authorship theory.⁸⁰ Very recently, Clarissa Breu and others have revisited the question of authorship and authorial intention with respect to biblical studies in Breu's edited volume, *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention?*⁸¹

A Computational Linguistic Analysis," *PLoS ONE* 12, no. 3 (2017), DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0171626.

79 Aleksandra Niewiara, "Vantage Theory, Statistics, and the Mental Worldview," *Language Sciences* 32, no. 10 (2010), 315–22. For more on vantage theory and interpretation, see Małgorzata Fabiszak, "An Application of MacLaury's Vantage Theory to Abstract Categories: Identity and the Process of Categorization," *LangSci* 32 (2010), 276–90; and Nobuko Adachi, "Vantage Theory Formulations of Ethnicities: The Case of Overseas Japanese," *LangSci* 32 (2010), 291–314.

80 See H.M. Jackson, "Ancient Self-Referential Conventions and Their Implications for the Authorship and Integrity of the Gospel of John," *JTS* 50, no. 1 (1999), 1–34; J.P. Weinberg, "Authorship and Author in the Ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible," *HS* 44 (2003), 157–69; Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); E. Mkhathswa, "Authorial Intention and Agency in Luke's Acts," *Literator* 31, no. 1 (2010), 99–122; Nijay Gupta, "What Is in a Name? The Hermeneutics of Authorship Analysis Concerning Colossians," *CurBR* 11, no. 2 (2013), 196–217; Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. 51–113; Gregory Goswell, "Authorship and Anonymity in the New Testament Writings," *JETS* 60, no. 4 (2017), 733–49; On Jewish authorship of Greek texts, see Sean A. Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors: Negotiating Literary Culture in the Greco-Roman Era* (Baylor University Press, 2020), and my discussion in chapter three below. Note that Adams, "err[ing] on the side of inclusion," numbers Luke among early Jewish-Christian Greek writers (6).

81 Clarissa Breu, ed., *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention? Interdisciplinary Approaches to Authorship and Meaning* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

Contrary to Booth and Burke, Breu argues that the proponents of the Death of the Author movement never envisioned that the “flesh-and-blood” author should be completely ruled out of the work of textual interpretation.⁸² Similarly, Sandra Heinen argues in the same volume that interest in ancient authorship has never really dissipated, but instead has gone by many names over the last few decades.⁸³ Despite the author’s alleged erasure, scholars continue the work of critical exegesis under the influence of implicit assumptions about a text’s origins—its “cultural context,” for instance—because “it is only by way of the author that a text can be culturally positioned (nationally, ethnically, regionally, historically, or ideologically).”⁸⁴ Building on the work of Eefje Claassen,⁸⁵ Heinen also argues that there is nothing inherently contradictory between Foucault’s “author-function” and Booth’s “implied author,” including the suggestion that authors are unavoidably embedded within their cultures and that this embeddedness in turn influences the meaning of the text.⁸⁶ This means that any attempt to locate the author of a text will always be a readerly construction—but, Heinen asks, how could it be anything else? “Meaning ascribed to a text can never be the meaning intended but only the meaning as (re)constructed by the reader, however conventionally it might be ascribed to the author. *Yet just because something is a construct, it is not necessarily wrong, misguided, or devoid of utility.*”⁸⁷ Heinen thus cautiously distances herself from Barthes’s absolutist claims:

The construction of textual meaning inevitably goes hand in hand with the construction of an image of its author. The mental construction of an authorial image is in part based on the text under consideration ... and in part on extra textual pieces of information that a reader might have had even before starting to read such a text ... A reader’s mental image of an

82 “The ‘death of the author’ can refer to many different kinds of dying, to many different kinds of authors. But it never meant that the category of ‘author’ should play no role at all in textual interpretation,” Breu, “Authors Dead and Resurrected,” in *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention?*, 2.

83 Heinen, “Exegesis without Authorial Intention?” 10.

84 Ibid.

85 Eefje Claassen, *Author Representations in Literary Reading* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012).

86 Heinen, “Exegesis without Authorial Intention?” 12. For more on implied authors and audiences, see Maren R. Niehoff, “The Implied Audience of the Letter of James,” 57–77 in *New Approaches to the Study of Biblical Interpretation in Judaism of the Second Temple Period and in Early Christianity*, ed. by Gary A. Anderson, Ruth Clements, and David Satran (Boston: Brill, 2013).

87 Heinen, “Exegesis without Authorial Intention?” 12–13, emphasis added.

author is therefore not only the result of reading but can also restructure an interpretation.⁸⁸

In other words, readers will always construct an implied author from the text; one of the most fundamental questions for any critical reader should therefore be, *What sort of person would write these words?* Heinen's observation also helps to explain why Luke has been read as a gentile Christian by so many readers for so long, and why a history of reception is crucial to any serious attempt at authorial (re)construction: When readers approach Luke/Acts with the assumption that it was written by Paul's beloved "non-Jewish" physician, such an assumption will naturally color their subsequent reception of the text.⁸⁹

Oda Wischmeyer illustrates this point exceptionally well, revealing the enduring importance of authorial constructs to the field of biblical studies by demonstrating how differently the Epistle of James may be read, depending on one's assumptions about the authorship of the letter.⁹⁰ To Foucault's question, "What does it matter who is speaking?" Wischmeyer concludes that at least as far as the New Testament is concerned, it matters a great deal. Furthermore, the significance of authorial identity was no less true for ancient readers than it is for contemporary ones, since confidence in a text's apostolic origin was one of the three foundational criteria for canonical acceptance.⁹¹ Still, nuance is imperative. Although the author lives on as a critical component of New Testament interpretation, and while "it is crucial that the texts of the New Testament are produced by historical persons," Wischmeyer contends that it remains the task of careful scholars to explore the boundaries, congruities, and discrepancies between conceptions of authorship in New Testament studies and poststructuralist literary criticism.⁹²

The author cannot prescribe how his or her text should be *interpreted*—but perhaps he provides the interpreters with information about the process of *production* ... The author's own experiences are in some way a starting point for his literary or intellectual work[, ... and] our reading will be more comprehensive and thorough when we learn about the author's

88 Ibid, 13.

89 See also Claassen, *Author Representations*, 213ff.

90 Oda Wischmeyer, "Author—Text—Intention: A Case Study on the Letter of James," 24–42 in *Biblical Exegesis without Authorial Intention? Interdisciplinary Approaches to Authorship and Meaning*, ed. by Clarissa Breu (Boston: Brill, 2019).

91 Wischmeyer, "Author—Text—Intention," 26.

92 Ibid, 31.

experiences and thoughts behind (or before) the texts and their transformations within the text.⁹³

For her part, Wischmeyer concludes that neither the author nor the text alone is sufficiently understood when taken independently from one another, but must be regarded as *interrelated*, a point with which I fully agree.⁹⁴

There are, as Wischmeyer suggests, a few difficulties with drawing overly direct comparisons between ancient and contemporary authorship. Indeed, Karen King has argued this point exceptionally well.⁹⁵ Employing a rigorous Foucauldian analysis of author-function to the canonical *Revelation to John* and the apocryphal *Secret Revelation of John*, King finds that the author-function of ancient texts often comprised an astonishing variety of utilities, and—perhaps less surprisingly—the way the ancient author-function was deployed in a text depended to a large extent upon its historical context and the field of social relations in which it was embedded.⁹⁶ In contrast to contemporary understandings of authorship which are tightly bound to modern institutions like copyright laws and cultural values such as “creative genius,” ancient author-function by contrast typically inhered closely to questions of source, transmission, and situating the text historically, socially, and theologically.⁹⁷ In *Revelation*, for example, the author-function situates the text geographically and socially within the Christian movement in Asia Minor, but also locates both author and audience eschatologically “within a cosmic framework of creation and destruction.”⁹⁸

Tellingly, King observes that as a component of the ancient author-function, authorial attribution served not only to establish the authority (and authenticity) of the text itself, but also to generate a narrative surrounding the person who composed the text and the community to which it was written:

Attribution to John, then, could have functioned not only to claim authority for [*Secret Revelation of John*]’s message by establishing a secure line of transmission through the apostle John, but may also have functioned

93 Ibid, 33.

94 Ibid, 32.

95 Karen L. King, “What Is an Author?': Ancient Author-Function in the *Apocryphon of John* and the Apocalypse of John,” 15–42 in *Scribal Practices and Social Structures Among Jesus Adherents: Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, ed. by William E. Arnal, et al., BETL 285 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016).

96 King, “What Is an Author?” 40.

97 Ibid, 33.

98 Ibid, 30.

to garner social prestige for the group(s) that possessed the book(s), have furthered persuasive and apologetic aims, provided an interpretive connection to the Gospel of John, and situated the work within a specific stream of Christianity.⁹⁹

Of course, authorial attributions were often pseudonymous, and this is precisely King's point. She further argues that one of her aims is to "consider how the ancient discourse of author-function operated to produce and reproduce certain relations of power, precisely by limiting who had access to the prestige associated with writing. Attribution was not neutral."¹⁰⁰ It is worth pausing briefly here once again to recall the conclusions we reached in chapter one, namely that Irenaeus's identification of the author of the Third Gospel and Acts with Luke the companion of Paul set the stage for almost two millennia of further assumptions regarding the nature and purpose of those texts.

King rightly understands the Foucauldian author-function to refer not to a particular *individual* with whom a given text originates, but rather to an inclusive *process* that may refer to any number of contributing factors.¹⁰¹ Indeed, referencing the *Secret Revelation of John*, King argues that its "author-function (identifying source and securing transmission) is distributed among the [character of] the Savior, John, the impersonal narrator, and the material artefact (the book)."¹⁰² This is where my study parts ways with King, and with Foucault's author-function more generally. While I do believe that analyzing the various ways in which authorial attribution weighs heavily on readerly expectations, it is not at all clear to me where the limits of the author-function actually lie. Why, for example, should the insistence of the narrator of the *Secret Revelation of John* that Christ be understood as the deciding factor for reinterpreting Israel's scriptures be taken as part of the *author-function* of the text, rather than merely as a rhetorical or literary strategy of its historical author?¹⁰³ Foucault's neglect of the flesh-and-blood author appears to have opened the floodgates of discourse to the extent that any constituent property of any text—abstract or otherwise—may legitimately be considered part of its author-function.

99 Ibid, 26. Importantly, however, King acknowledges that the text of the canonical Revelation itself offers no explicit indication that its author is the same as that of the Fourth Gospel.

100 Ibid, 40.

101 Ibid, 23.

102 Ibid, 24.

103 Ibid. For more on early Christian beliefs concerning christological exegesis of Israel's scriptures, see chapter four below.

Given the enormous variety of author-function in the ancient world, King suggests that scholars approach each text on a case-by-case basis, asking, “What work is [the] author-function doing in this particular situation? What positions or roles are being activated? And who is (or can be) designated to fill them?”¹⁰⁴ Most importantly, King wonders, in the ancient world, *who can be an author?* By this, King emphasizes that she is not concerned with “who ‘really’ wrote a particular work,” but rather, “who can occupy the positionalities to which attribution adheres discursively. What characteristics are required? Who is excluded? When we look at ancient social relations, it is clear that not only are roles or positions limited but so is who can occupy them. Factors such as educational level, wealth and social status, free or slave, gender, and age are often determinative, even if rare exceptions may be found.”¹⁰⁵ These observations are highly relevant to the aims of this book. In chapter three, for instance, I will argue that the social group typically referred to as “godfearers”—gentiles who professed varying degrees of commitment to the traditions and scriptures of Israel—would have lacked the proficiency to write about these subjects with the expertise Luke exhibits in the Third Gospel and in Acts.

In concluding this section, I wish to return briefly to the work of Oda Wischmeyer, whom I find to be particularly helpful in framing our discussion about Lukan authorship. Along with Wischmeyer, I take the following two observations to be axiomatic: First, an author is, simply put, “defined by the text he produces.”¹⁰⁶ Second, “the author’s own experiences are in some way a starting point for his literary or intellectual work.”¹⁰⁷ Proceeding from these observations, then, in the following chapters my aim is to present the strongest possible evidence for those factors which place limitations on constructions of Lukan authorship—limitations that would *include* the possibility of his Jewishness, and which may even *exclude* the possibility that he was a gentile.

3 “Consulting the Oracle”: Authorship and Luke/Acts

In closing their famous essay, Wimsatt and Beardsley remark that literary-critical questions related to poetic allusion are inevitably bound up with the question of authorial intent, cheekily concluding that attempts to discern the mind and motivations of an author thus amount to so much superstitious humbuggery:

104 Ibid, 37.

105 Ibid, 39.

106 Wischmeyer, “Author—Text—Intention,” 32.

107 Ibid, 33.

“Critical inquiries are not settled by consulting the oracle.”¹⁰⁸ The claim should be deemed neither supernatural nor particularly controversial, however, that behind the text of Luke/Acts there was a real flesh-and-blood historical person.¹⁰⁹ Taking into consideration the preceding discussion, what then can be known about this flesh-and-blood author of Luke and Acts? Should the critical reader of the Third Gospel simply throw up their arms in a defeated shrug, or take up the tools of the *haruspex*? In the final section of this chapter, I will outline the methodology that will guide the remainder of this book, starting with a clarification of terms.

3.1 *What We Are Talking about When We Talk about the “Author”*

First, it is important to highlight what I do *not* mean when referring to the “author” of Luke/Acts, namely, any sort of disembodied *authorial intention*. In this book I am not claiming to apprehend what the author of Luke/Acts “intended” by this or that piece of narration. Rather, I am interested in what sorts of linguistic, thematic, and literary *textual markers* might indicate something about the author’s historical and social context, embedded as he was (and as we all are) within a complex web of relational structures that constrained his language and thought.

Second, theoretical discussions about the author are, at the heart of it, discussions about *human beings*, and especially about the nature and (in)stability of human subjectivity.¹¹⁰ Barthes’s contention was that the concept of authorship itself is a modern phenomenon because it rests upon philosophical assumptions about the human being that rose to prominence with the European Enlightenment (especially the Cartesian autonomous self).¹¹¹ My own perspective has been informed by the philosophy of personalism,¹¹²

108 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” 487. Conversely, Seán Burke has highlighted the irony at the core of Wimsatt and Beardsley’s metaphor. Burke, “The Biographical Imperative,” 197–8.

109 This is not to deny that both Luke and Acts underwent some degree of editing and scribal revision, nor that ancient conceptions of authorship did not rule out a plurality of authors.

110 “Notions of the self, creativity, psyche, origin, source, theology, onto-theology, agency, free will, determinism, consciousness, causality, gender, cultural identity, objectivity, subjectivity, ownership, authority (scarcely to exhaust the list) are implied not only by the question of authorship but also by theories of the absence, death, or disappearance of the author,” Burke, “Reconstructing the Author,” xvi.

111 Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” 142–3.

112 E.g., Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. by Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); John F. Crosby, *The Selfhood of the Human Person* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996); Rufus Burrow, Jr., *Personalism: A Critical*

as well as the epistemological and ontological research paradigm of critical realism.¹¹³ While time and spatial constraints prohibit me from elaborating extensively on these philosophical underpinnings here, I offer the following claim as a starting point: If the human self is a product of the complex network of social relationships in which we are already embedded even at birth, then there must be some way to observe those relationships at work to determine how they exert their influence upon a text produced by an historical person, however tentative and contingent such a judgment might be.¹¹⁴

Sociological research on the dynamics of individual and collective identity formation is particularly helpful for understanding the ways in which characteristics like ethnicity and religious tradition give shape to historical reality, even as those characteristics are nonetheless products of that very same reality.¹¹⁵ While poststructuralism, postmodernism, and constructivism emphasize the fluidity of language and the subjective social construction of reality, Samuel Pehrson and Stephen Reicher have recently argued that categories of social identity may be understood as “objective” forces; thus an author’s social location, their ethnicity, and other broader categories of identity are not restricted to the interior realm of the author’s subjectivity:

Introduction (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 1999); Gregory R. Beabout, et al., *Beyond Self-Interest: A Personalist Approach to Human Action* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2001); Jan Olof Bengtsson, *The Worldview of Personalism: Origins and Early Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

113 E.g., Michael Polanyi, “Life’s Irreducible Structure,” *Science* 160 (1968), 1308–1312; Roy A. Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science* (London: Verso, 1975); Ben F. Meyer, “The Primacy of the Intended Sense of Texts,” 17–55 in Meyer, *Critical Realism and the New Testament* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1989); for an outstanding use of critical realism as a warrant for academic interdisciplinarity, see Bhaskar, Danermark, and Price, *Interdisciplinarity and Wellbeing: A Critical Realist General Theory of Interdisciplinarity* (New York: Routledge, 2018), esp. 23–82.

114 This perspective might be understood as constructivist rather than critical-realist. The difference between constructivism and what I am proposing here, however, is that I argue that some form of objective reality does exist, even if the critic’s ability to grasp it is imperfect and subjectively mediated.

115 “The context in which self-categorization occurs is underpinned by social representations that are irreducible to the cognitive processes of any one individual. There is therefore no contradiction between the highly fluid psychological process of self-categorization and the empirical reality of stable, consequential social categories across time,” Samuel Pehrson and Stephen Reicher, “On the Meaning, Validity and Importance of the Distinction between Personal and Social Identity: A Social Identity Perspective on Identity Process Theory,” 97–117 in *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Social Change*, ed. by Rusi Jaspal and Glynis M. Breakwell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 112.

Category memberships such as ethnicity are *effectively* objective from the point of view of an individual, but they are what Searle calls 'ontologically subjective,' meaning they are contingent on social processes and therefore others' subjectivity. The reason our ethnicities will not change the moment we categorize ourselves as something different is that such social facts do not depend on the mental processes of any one individual.¹¹⁶

Finally, and related to the previous point, the author debate hinges on differences of opinion regarding the primacy of (objective) social structure versus (subjective) individual agency. "Human activity," writes Marjorie Grene, "presupposes an agent. The activity of the mind is not like the 'activity' of a strong acid, it is not a bare event, but a *doing*, and it must be done by *someone*. And some one is always some one in particular, born somewhere at some time of some parents, possessing some innate aptitudes, moulded somehow by the setting of his family, society, time."¹¹⁷ Once again, the implications of social identity theory for philosophies of authorship have yet to be fully considered.¹¹⁸ In the remaining chapters of this book, then, I hope to follow Burke in "repositioning authorship as a situated activity present not so much to itself as to culture, ideology, language, difference, influence, [and] biography."¹¹⁹ In short, I assume that Luke the author was a real person, shaped by social and cultural forces with objectively discernible traits, even if our ability to portray that person and those forces is imprecise and contingent to a certain extent upon the subjectivity of the historian.

On the role of authorial agency, style, and identity in textual production, Nikolas Coupland approvingly cites the work of sociologist Erving Goffman (1922–1982), who distinguished between characteristics of identity which are "given" and those which are "given off." Such a distinction, Coupland argues, confronts us with the awareness that "identities are not fully controllable and subject to strategy or management. When we 'give' expressions or self-identities, we have reasonably strong strategic control. When we 'give off' expressions or self-identities, we have low control and they 'leak' from our behavior and our

116 Ibid, 111–12, emphasis original.

117 Marjorie Grene, *The Knower and the Known* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), 143, emphasis original.

118 "The processes described by [Self-Categorization Theory] lead us to a view of social identity as being simultaneously a *product* of our social reality—our lived social relations—and a *means to shape* that reality," Pehrson and Reicher, "On the Meaning, Validity and Importance of the Distinction between Personal and Social Identity," 104.

119 Burke, "Reconstructing the Author," xxvi.

verbal and non-verbal displays.”¹²⁰ I would argue that while “given” identities might be analogous to *authorial intent*—and would therefore require knowledge of the author’s mind—those identities which are “given off” may, by contrast, be observed in the framework of the text. Like fingerprints, footprints, or stray hairs left at a crime scene, these indicators of “given-off” identities serve as residual evidence of point-of-contact and are thus literally *unintentional*. Moreover, these unintentional attributes which “leak” into a text serve as contextual clues for future readers and critics. As Sean Adams has observed, the historical situatedness of a literary work “provides constraints, not only for the author, but also for subsequent reconstructions of the authorial world, affecting the scholar’s understanding of the author’s purpose and intention as well as the plausibility of their reconstruction.”¹²¹

Robert Brawley, in his recent social identity commentary on Luke, repudiates Erich Auerbach’s contention that “social, economic, and cultural history is not given in ancient historiography but must be inferred.” Instead, Brawley argues, precisely the reverse is true: “The narrative takes over presuppositions from its historical environment, so that Luke is imbued with linguistic, social, economic, and cultural history.”¹²² Seán Burke effectively distills the question thus: “Does the author reflect culture and history, or is the author constructed in culture and history?”¹²³ Contrary to both Auerbach and Brawley, we must insist that *both* positions are true. Historical and social context necessarily shape an author’s narrative, but the narrative in turn reshapes how both author and reader understand their historical and social context. Historiography (and historical criticism), therefore, involves participation in a hermeneutical spiral: People are indelibly shaped by their environment, and yet subsequently also exert a significant degree of influence upon the shaping of said environment in materially observable ways.

3.2 *What Can We Know about Luke?*

“The historian,” Herbert Butterfield lamented, “can never quite know men from the inside—never quite learn the last secret of the workings of inspiration in a poet or of piety in a devout religious leader.”¹²⁴ The same may be said for authors and texts, as we have seen earlier in this chapter. Yet for historians and

120 Nikolas Coupland, *Style: Language Variation and Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 111.

121 Sean A. Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors*, 9.

122 Robert L. Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 9.

123 Burke, “Reconstructing the Author,” xv.

124 Herbert Butterfield, *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951), 116.

authors alike, the subject of our inquiry is *not*, in fact, concerned with knowing Luke from the *inside*, so much as grappling with the material artifacts he left behind, as well as the *external* forces that gave shape to those artifacts.¹²⁵ If we conceive of the text as an *action* rather than as a rudderless linguistic ship drifting through time and space, then there must be observable characteristics within the text that allow us to make judgments—however tentative—about the agent behind the action.¹²⁶

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, very little reliable second-hand information exists concerning Luke in the first few centuries of the common era. Moreover, aside from the so-called “we-passages” in Acts, Luke also discloses very little of his personal perspective. From his preface we learn that he sees himself as a tradent charged with “handing down” (παρέδοσαν) the tradition he received¹²⁷ (Luke 1:2; cf. 1 Cor 11:23ff.), and that he was well-acquainted with the events he describes (παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν, Luke 1:3). Although many had “undertaken to draw up a narration” (ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν, 1:1) of the Jesus story before Luke made his own attempt, Luke views his own contribution to be that of a careful and methodical writer (ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς ... γράψαι, 1:3), so that his reader might have “security” (ἀσφάλειαν) concerning “the things you were instructed” (ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων, 1:4).¹²⁸

125 It is also worth noting that with respect to authors of religious texts, the suggestion that we cannot know the religious identity of an author rests upon the relatively modern assumption that religion itself is fundamentally a matter of *interiority*. This understanding of religiosity has been challenged vigorously in recent years. See, e.g., S. Brent Plate, *A History of Religion in 5 1/2 Objects: Bringing the Spiritual to Its Senses* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

126 On the fallacy of the assumption that Judaism is reducible to “religion” and therefore a condition of interiority, see Isaac Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 5ff.

127 Curiously, Luke uses the exact same word to describe those who have handed down the tradition (ὑπηρεταί) that Plato uses in his discussion of authorship and poetic genesis (*Ion*, 534c [Fowler and Lamb, LCL]). Plato says of the poets that God “takes away the mind of these men and uses them as servants” (ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρούμενος τούτων τὸν νοῦν τούτοις χρήται ὑπηρεταίς).

128 In her essay on Foucault’s author-function and the Johannine revelatory material contained in the *Apocryphon of John* and the Apocalypse of John, Karen King notes that the material artefact of the former works as part of the author-function in that it ensures reliable transmission of the message: “And the savior presented these things to him that he might write them down and keep them *secure* (ταχρη, *SRJ* 27,10),” King, “What Is an Author?” 24. Curiously, in his preface to the Third Gospel Luke also mentions that it seemed appropriate to him to write (γράφαι) to Theophilus so that he might have *security* (ἀσφάλειαν) concerning the things about which he had previously been instructed (Luke 1:3–4). Scholars tend to focus on the “carefully [and] methodically” (ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς) part of Luke’s preface, but it is a tempting possibility to read “security” here as a product of the act of writing itself. See David P. Moessner, “The Appeal and Power of Poetics

With so little autobiographical evidence to analyze, what might therefore be determined about Luke's ethnic or religious status? First, it may be suggested—as several scholars have already—that considering recent research concerning the “Parting of the Ways” between early Judaism and Christianity, critics should now take a methodological approach to authors of this period that might best be labeled “Jewish until proven gentile.”¹²⁹ That is, until clear evidence arises that Luke was *not* Jewish, we should assume that he was. I strongly support this approach, as I argued in chapter one. This methodological consideration aside, however, if the author of Luke/Acts is to be glimpsed in his writings,¹³⁰ I propose that we consider three additional overlapping spheres of critical investigation: Cultural intertext; Luke's interpretation of Israel's scriptures; and the insights of the related disciplines of sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics. These three spheres will provide the structure for the remaining chapters of this book.¹³¹

4 Cultural Intertext

Every text is, in a sense, a pastiche of references to existing texts—a principle that even Barthes himself acknowledged.

We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single “theological” meaning (the “message” of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and

(Luke 1:1–4): Luke's Superior Credentials (παρηκολουθηκότι), Narrative Sequence (καθεξής), and Firmness of Understanding (ἡ ἀσφάλεια) for the Reader,” 84–123 in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim Upon Israel's Legacy*, ed. by David P. Moessner (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity International Press, 1999).

129 Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 447. See also Timothy A. Gabrielson, “On Distinguishing ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ Writings: Or, How to Avoid Making 1 Corinthians ‘Jewish’ and James ‘Non-Jewish’” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, San Diego, CA, Nov. 25, 2019).

130 There is, of course, a perennial debate regarding whether the canonical Evangelists should be considered *authors*, or if instead their contributions are more of a redactional nature. See Henry Cadbury, “Luke—Translator or Author?” *AmJT* 24, no. 3 (1920), 436–455; Morton Enslin, “Luke and Matthew: Compilers or Authors?” *ANRW* 25.3:2357–2388; more recently, see Thomas J. Mosbø, *Luke the Composer: Exploring the Evangelist's Use of Matthew* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017).

131 This is not to argue that these are the *only* three spheres of inquiry that may prove useful in recovering a Jewish portrait of Luke; indeed, several other approaches may help critics reach the same conclusions.

clash. *The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture ... [T]he writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original.* His only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any of them.¹³²

Yet it seems to me that Barthes hoists himself with his own petard here. For if the writer is capable only of linguistic imitation, this leaves open the possibility that the very culture which an author mimics (knowingly or unknowingly) may be observed within the text.¹³³ Such a claim necessarily places reasonable limitations on the range of acceptable historical judgments that might be made about the text and its author. We would be rightly suspicious, for example, if we were to discover a quotation from *Toy Story* in the notebook of an eighteenth-century French poet. This raises a crucial series of questions for our study: What are the texts or culture-specific ideas to which Luke alludes most frequently? How does Luke employ these allusions in service to his larger narrative? What plausible explanations might be offered to account for Luke's references to *these* particular texts or ideas in *these* particular ways? I will take up a fuller discussion of the cultural intertext sphere in the next chapter, offering only a brief example here for the sake of illustration: In Luke 11:44, Jesus compares the Pharisees to "unmarked graves" (τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ ἄδηλα), suggesting that the people who pass over them unknowingly incur "a kind of metaphorical corpse impurity."¹³⁴ While a similar episode is recounted in Matthew (cf. 23:27), Luke's particular phrasing is unique to his gospel, and may reflect the author's personal familiarity with early Jewish concerns regarding ritual impurity.

¹³² Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 146, emphasis added.

¹³³ Similarly, Ricoeur: "For me, the world is the ensemble of references opened up by every kind of text, descriptive or poetic, that I have read, understood, and loved. And to understand a text is to interpolate among the predicates of our situation all the significations that make a *Welt* out of our *Umwelt*. It is this enlarging of our horizon of existence that permits us to speak of the references opened up by the text or of the world opened up by the referential claims of most texts," Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 37.

¹³⁴ David Smith, "The Jewishness of Luke-Acts: Locating Lukan Christianity amidst the Parting of the Ways" (paper presented at the Institute for Biblical Research Annual Meeting unit on Early Christian Judaism, San Diego, CA, Nov. 2019), 10. As Matthew Thiessen has argued, however, this impurity may not have been as "metaphorical" as Smith suggests. See Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2020), and my discussion of impurity in chapter five below.

5 Luke's Interpretation of Israel's Scriptures

In what sorts of ways does the author of Luke and Acts alter or reshape existing tradition, and what might be discerned in contrasting Luke's approach with that of other evangelists? If, in contrast to the majority of redaction-critical approaches to Luke/Acts, we understand Luke to have had a degree of agency in the crafting of his text, what sorts of cultural, historical, and personal values does Luke reveal in his recapitulation of the Jesus story and the history of the earliest Christ-followers?¹³⁵ In chapter five, I use this sphere as my primary lens to analyze Luke's regard for Torah observance, and his recurring insistence upon the restoration of Israel as a fulfillment of God's promises to the patriarchs.

6 Social and Cognitive Linguistics

As early as 1896, Alfred Plummer, in his commentary on Luke's gospel, remarked on the puzzling contradiction between Luke's exemplary Greek and the pervasive occurrence of "Hebraisms" throughout his text: "He can be as Hebraistic as the LXX, and as free from Hebraisms as Plutarch."¹³⁶ Since Plummer, however, the field of sociolinguistics has opened up new avenues of research into the authorship and exegesis of Luke/Acts. Keeping in mind that "characteristic language use cannot be limited to words only, but covers a whole range of infra- and supra-lexical linguistic phenomena,"¹³⁷ it is worth revisiting Luke's vocabulary and style using the methodological advances of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics.

In his recent social-identity commentary on Luke, Robert Brawley discusses how meaning is constructed:

Luke's narrative employs a cultural encyclopedia that is unavailable to interpreters without substantial familiarity with the history of antiquity.

¹³⁵ For a superb example of how a text's themes and narration may reveal something about its author's social and cultural context, see Eric Smith's argument that Luke reveals his own spatial *habitus* in the story of Eutychus in Acts 20. Eric C. Smith, "The Fall and Rise of Eutychus: The Church of Paul and the Spatial Habitus of Luke," *BibInt* 28, no. 2 (2020), 228–245.

¹³⁶ Alfred Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 5th ed., 1CC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1964), xlvii–xlix, cited in Adelbert Denaux, Rita Corstjens, and Hellen Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, BTS 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), xvi.

¹³⁷ Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, xx.

Like all texts, Luke is full of gaps that readers/hearers have to fill from cultural presuppositions. For example, the text presumes without explicit information that readers/hearers can immediately understand that Herod is a client king of Judea in imperial systems, or the significance of the priestly heritage of Zechariah and Elizabeth in [Luke] 1:5, or the identity of the God who is mentioned in 1:6, or the commandments and regulations, which obviously implicate Israel's culture, including especially Israel's Scriptures, in Israel's land. It is even possible to assert that such assumptions, although unwritten, comprise a part of the text.¹³⁸

To Brawley's list of "gaps," I would add, for example, Luke's lack of explanation for his use of the phrase "the days of unleavened bread" (τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων) in Acts 20:6, or his casual mention of "the Fast" (νηστεῖαν) in Acts 27:9, a probable reference to the Day of Atonement; yet the inclusion of this reference would be virtually meaningless for anyone whose cultural encyclopedia did not already contain an awareness of Jewish festival observance. Like Mark's puzzling reference to "Rufus and Alexander" (Mark 15:21), Luke presumes his audience to have some degree of familiarity with his subject matter.¹³⁹ To select another relatively straightforward example, we can also be reasonably confident that the author of Luke/Acts genders himself as male by his use of masculine pronouns in the preface to his works.¹⁴⁰

It cannot be overstated that these three spheres describe textual characteristics that are communicated *passively* through the texts themselves, rather than requiring any direct knowledge of the author's intentionality. In addition, these spheres are not hermetically sealed-off from one another, but may contain significant overlaps between them. This is precisely why an interdisciplinary approach is essential to this book.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Brawley, *Luke*, 7, emphasis added.

¹³⁹ I am not arguing, however, that by linguistic analysis alone we may determine anything so specific about Luke as his trade, as Cadbury articulated so well a century ago.

¹⁴⁰ Brawley, *Luke*, 5. For a contrasting view of Lukan authorship, see E. Jane Via, "Women in the Gospel of Luke," 38–55 in *Women in the World's Religions: Past and Present*, ed. by Ursula King (New York: Paragon House, 1987), 49–50, who argues that Luke and Acts could have been written by a female author.

¹⁴¹ According to Bhaskar, Danermark, and Price, interdisciplinarity is both "possible" and "necessary" because, unlike unidisciplinary approaches, interdisciplinarity assumes a multi-layered and multi-perspectival understanding of reality, and is thus a "strikingly pervasive feature of our experience," Bhaskar, Danermark, and Price, *Interdisciplinarity and Wellbeing*, 2.

7 Summary and Conclusion

The problem I have attempted to address in this chapter is, at its crux, an epistemological one. The Death of the Author movement, and the poststructuralist turn out of which it arose, rightly gave us cause for skepticism regarding the extent to which we can peer into the mind of an author. "It is probably impossible," David Smith confesses, "without direct attestation, to differentiate a text written by a Hellenistic Jewish Christian who embraced the gentile mission from one written by a god-fearing gentile Christian whose entry to the Jesus movement came through previous association with Jewish synagogues."¹⁴² The veracity of this claim, perhaps, remains to be seen.

Taken individually, the criteria I have outlined above do not offer much in the way of certainty regarding Luke's relationship to early Judaism. For instance, Luke's vocabulary alone is not all that helpful for determining his social identity—there are simply too many variables to consider. At the same time, however, I believe that this epistemological skepticism should only be warranted for methodologically homogeneous approaches. If we take these overlapping criteria *collectively*, we find a greater degree of plausibility in constructing an alternative icon of Lukan authorship through interdisciplinary means. Moreover, whatever approach one adopts must in the end return to the text itself. Throughout the remainder of this book, then, I will address each of these methodological approaches in turn, highlighting Luke's intertextual familiarity with Israel's scriptures in chapter four, his key thematic concern with Mosaic law in chapter five, and his use of insider/outsider language in chapter six.

In bringing this chapter to a close, I suggest we also consider the possibility that the Death of the Author may help to explain why readers historically have read Luke and Acts in such wildly different registers. "The narrative of our lives," Brawley argues, "always involves interaction with others. The very language in which our narrative is couched is inherited from the communal framework in which we are socialized."¹⁴³ This is true of readers as well as writers, and the communal framework in which a reader is socialized will also exert influence on how the text is received. At least as early as the eighth century CE, Luke had acquired a reputation as a painter, the first artist to capture the image of the Madonna and child, thus establishing Luke in the popular

¹⁴² Smith, "The Jewishness of Luke-Acts," 11.

¹⁴³ Brawley, *Luke*, 19.

imagination as the prototypical Christian iconographer.¹⁴⁴ Because Luke was a doctor and an educated man, so it was reasoned, he was obviously therefore also an aesthete—an example of how readers' familiarity with paratextual tradition can impose novel interpretations upon a text. Similarly, the Death of the Author also helps to explain one of the most tantalizing ambiguities of Luke's two-volume narrative: Is Luke anti-Jewish, or not? The answer to this question varies wildly depending upon the historical and cultural context of readers of Luke/Acts, whether they are second-century church fathers, medieval Christian theologians, Protestant Reformers, or twentieth-century German critics sympathetic to the political machinery of the Third Reich. That is to say, the "author-function" of Luke the Evangelist has served various ends at various points throughout the life and reception of Luke and Acts.

At the same time, however, we ought not dispense with the concept of authorship entirely. Neither text nor author can be wholly separated from one another, but instead both are forever bound together. To employ Wischmeyer's axiomatic framing, "*Texts* have authors ... *authors* write texts, and ... authors matter for the *interpretation* of texts. In other words, the quest for the author matters for thoughtful *readers*, even if the memory of the author has been lost, and it is part of the scholar's approach to texts to attempt to reconstruct the authors who produced these texts."¹⁴⁵ This does not mean that the resulting image of the author will be a final and unquestionable high-res photograph. Instead, what Heinen refers to as the "author construct" is a heuristic device that is essential to biblical interpretation as an academic discipline.¹⁴⁶

Of the making of many theories of authorship, there is no end. Can texts tell us anything about their author? Provisionally, *yes*—to the extent that all human beings are bound to their time and place, and texts are understood to be material artifacts that are equally bound to their respective contexts. Scholars must ensure, however, that our author-constructs never progress from the contingent to the absolute, thereby transforming our authorial icons into authoritative idols.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps, then, the "historical Luke" may only ever be viewed as

144 On the origin of this tradition, see Rebecca Raynor, "The Shaping of an Icon: St. Luke, the Artist," *BMGS* 39, no. 2 (2015), 161–172.

145 Wischmeyer, "Author—Text—Intention," 36.

146 Heinen, "Exegesis without Authorial Intention?" 21.

147 In his 2012 Cadbury Lecture, Rowan Williams notes the etymology behind God's whimsical reflection in Gen 1:26 to make humankind according to God's "image and likeness." The first term, *צֶלֶם* (LXX εἰκόνα), denotes "shadow," while the second, clarifying term, *דְמוּת* (LXX ὁμοίωσις), denotes sameness. Williams, "Idols, Images and Icons," March 16, 2012, <https://youtu.be/DdsbsmCaRy8>. By contrast, Paul Ricoeur develops a theory of "iconicity" that understands the *eikōn* to represent an *augmentation* and *metamorphosis* of reality, rather than its "shadow"; see Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 40–43. See also

through a mirror dimly, an *eikōn*, a contingent and constructed *image*. Instead, we must seek the authorial subject not *outside* the text, but *within* it.

As Wimsatt and Beardsley conclude, “the text itself remains to be dealt with.”¹⁴⁸ Bearing in mind that what follows represents my own Lukan author-construct (or *icon*, if readers will permit the analogy), it remains to be seen in the following chapters what evidence for Luke’s Jewishness may be discerned in the texts he left behind. Fortunately, Luke has handed down to us a wealth of written material that is ripe for further analysis.

Judith T. Irvine’s concept of “iconization” in Irvine, “‘Style’ as Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation,” 21–43 in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. by Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 33.

148 Wimsatt and Beardsley, “The Intentional Fallacy,” 481.

“Beginning with Moses and All the Prophets ...”: Luke’s Jewish Interpretation of Israel’s Scriptures

What Jewish writing has to interpret, finally, and however indirectly, is the Hebrew Bible, since that always has been the function of Jewish writing ... The desire to be Scripture is hardly in itself Jewish; Dante and Milton each believed himself to be uttering prophecy. But to trust that you join yourself to the Hebrew Bible by opening it further to your own pathos does seem to me a peculiarly Jewish ambition for a writer.

HAROLD BLOOM from the foreword to *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*



The question of Luke’s ethnic identity has often coalesced around the author’s knowledge and interpretation of Israel’s scriptures. As Robert Brawley has recently noted, “Because of a good Greek style and prologues to both Luke and Acts that correspond to Hellenistic form, a long-standing opinion is that the author came from a gentile background. But recent considerations especially of material that is stylized after the Septuagint and sophisticated allusions to and interpretations of Israel’s Scriptures have tilted opinions toward some kind of Israelite heritage.”¹ Similarly, Beverly Roberts Gaventa writes that “Luke is intimately familiar with the Septuagint ... which means either that he is himself a Jew or that he has extensively studied Scripture (perhaps as

¹ Robert Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 6. Countering the claim that Luke’s “good Greek” makes him more likely to be a gentile, Alan Kirk writes that Luke “belongs instead to a stream of Hellenistic Jewish literature that took the LXX as its classicizing model,” Alan Kirk, *Q in Matthew: Ancient Media, Memory, and Early Scribal Transmission of the Jesus Tradition*, LNTS 564 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 35.

a 'godfearer' or proselyte).² On the other hand, scholars ranging from Jack Sanders to Amy-Jill Levine have cited Luke's assertions that Jews did not understand their own scriptures (e.g., Luke 24:25–27; Acts 13:27) as evidence of Luke's broadly *anti-Jewish* orientation.³ Moreover, using his own journey from atheism to Christian biblical scholarship as a parallel, Craig Keener has cautioned against underestimating the extent to which a formerly pagan gentile proselyte might have become impressively adroit with Israel's scriptures. Both of these perspectives, however, are fraught with problematic assumptions.

In this chapter I attempt to cast some critical doubt on the notion that Luke was inherently anti-Jewish, as well as the claim that a non-Jewish author could have attained Luke's encyclopedic knowledge of Israel's scriptures. Instead, I propose that the narratives of Luke and Acts reveal an author not interested in the supersession or replacement of Israel by an ethnically gentile church, but rather, an evangelist concerned with explaining how gentiles instead have been *grafted into the Abrahamic promise* which already belongs to Israel and continues to belong to them. Luke thus proves himself to be a masterful interpreter of Israel's scriptures in a way that strongly suggests he was neither a gentile proselyte nor anti-Jewish, but rather a follower of the Way who had been raised and enculturated primarily within a Jewish setting. Such claims call for several immediate clarifications and qualifications, specifically concerning the meaning of my preferred term, "Israel's scriptures," and the distinction between "Jewish interpretation" and "Christian interpretation."

1 On "Israel's Scriptures"

Luke often introduces direct quotations of scripture with the simple phrase, "it is written" (Luke 4:4, 8, 10; 7:27; 19:46; 22:37; Acts 15:15; 23:5).⁴ To what "writings"

2 Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "Learning and Relearning the Identity of Jesus from Luke-Acts," 148–165 in *Seeking the Identity of Jesus: A Pilgrimage*, ed. by Richard B. Hays and Beverly Roberts Gaventa (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 149.

3 Cf. Paul's claim in 2 Cor 3:12–18 that "whenever Moses is read" among the synagogues, "a veil lies over their [i.e., the Jewish audience's] minds." I am grateful to Isaac Oliver for directing my attention to this point.

4 See also Acts 13:9, which cites "everything that was written about [Jesus]" (i.e., in Israel's scriptures). Relatedly, in Luke 6:3, the Lukan Jesus asks a simple rhetorical question regarding a particular narrative from Israel's scriptures: "Have you not read ...?" (cf. 1 Sam 21:1–6). On Luke's citation of scripture, see Lucien Cerfaux, "Citations scripturaires et traditions textuelles dans le livre des Actes," 95–103 in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel*, ed. by Philippe-Henri Menoud and Oscar Cullmann (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1950); Joseph B. Tyson, "Luke's Use of the Old Testament: Examples

is he referring? Luke is aware of the quasi-canonical status of Israel's sacred writings, to which he frequently appeals simply as "scripture," or "the scriptures" (γραφάς, Luke 24:27, 45; Acts 1:16; 8:32, 35; 17:2, 11; 18:24, 28). He also nods to the decalogue in his reference to "the commandments" (Luke 18:20), and identifies Torah more generally as "the law," (Luke 10:26; Acts 7:53); "the law of the Lord" (Luke 2:23, 39); "the law/customs of our fathers" (Acts 22:3, 28:17); and the "Law of Moses" (Acts 13:39; 15:5). He employs the name of Moses metonymically in reference to Torah (Luke 5:14; Acts 15:21; 21:21); similarly, "the customs handed down to us by Moses" (Acts 6:14, see also Acts 15:1), and even the "living oracles" handed down by Israel's patriarchs (λόγια ζώντα, Acts 7:38). Luke frequently joins together the prophetic writings along with the Pentateuch, as in "Moses and the prophets" (Luke 16:29, 31; 24:27; Acts 26:22; 28:23), and also "the law and the prophets" (Luke 16:16; Acts 13:15; 24:14). Yet Luke understands the prophets to be a distinct and separate category, as well (Luke 18:31; Acts 3:18, 21–24; 10:43; 15:15–17; 26:27). Additionally, he explicitly cites the "Book of the Prophet Isaiah" (βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου, Luke 4:17) and the "Book of Psalms" (βιβλος ψαλμῶν, Luke 20:42; Acts 1:20), and in particular the "second psalm" (ψαλμῶ ... δευτέρω, Acts 13:33). Collectively, these writings find expression in Luke's most inclusive formula for identifying Israel's scriptures: "the Law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms" (Luke 24:44; cf. Sir Pr 1, 24 [τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων; ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων]).⁵

of the Use of Old Testament Quotations in Luke and Acts" (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1955); and Gail R. O'Day, "The Citation of Scripture as a Key to Characterization in Acts," 207–21 in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay* ed. by Gail R. O'Day (Boston: Brill, 2008).

- 5 This is, of course, an incomplete list. Luke also mentions a host of prophets, both explicitly by name and implicitly by quotation or allusion. Additionally, Luke frequently uses the similar phrases "the word of God," (e.g. Luke 3:2 in allusion to the standard prophetic formula from Israel's scriptures; 5:1; 8:11–15, 21; 11:28; Acts 6:7; 8:14; 11:1; 12:24; 13:5, 7, 46; 18:11), the "word of the Lord" (Luke 22:61, where κύριος refers to Jesus; Acts 8:25; 11:16, where the κύριος in question again appears to be Jesus; 13:44, 48, 49; 15:35; 16:32; 19:10, 20), the "teaching of/about the Lord" (Acts 13:12) or simply, "the word" (Luke 1:2; Acts 8:4, Acts 18:5), as well as the peculiar phrase, "the Wisdom of God" (ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, Luke 11:49). The precise meaning of Luke's usage of these terms often lacks specificity. The most common reference here appears to be something related to the prophetic or kerygmatic content of the Christian Gospel, rather than specific writings. See E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1978), esp. 182–187. On the various phrases by which Luke refers to Torah itself, see Jacob Jervell, "The Law in Luke-Acts," 133–151 in *Luke and the People of God*, reprint ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002).

It is generally accepted that Luke's primary scriptural source was the Septuagint,⁶ which the author also sought to imitate in his own writing style.⁷ Mounting text-critical evidence, however, suggests that the LXX was not the *only* version of Israel's scriptures with which Luke was acquainted, and that he likely relied upon other sources, as well, including Hebrew and additional early Greek translations.⁸ Considerable research has been conducted on Luke's reliance upon specific scriptural narratives and motifs, including Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, the historical sagas, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and the Book of the Twelve, as well as other Jewish

- 6 William Kemp Lowther Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Luke-Acts," 66–105 in *The Beginnings of Christianity* Vol. 2, ed. by F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1922); Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," 165–186 in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70.*, ed. by Walther Eltester (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1954), 170–71; Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 114; Huub van de Sandt, "The Quotations in Acts 13,32–52 as a Reflection of Luke's LXX Interpretation," *Biblica* 75, no. 1 (1994), 26–58; Takamitsu Muraoka, "Luke and the Septuagint," *NovT* 54, no. 1 (2012), 13–15; Adelbert Denaux, "The Use of Scripture in Luke 9:51–56," 57–80 in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Essays in Honor of Maarten J.J. Menken*, ed. by Bart Koet, Steven Moyise, and Joseph Verheyden (Boston: Brill, 2013); cf., however, Luke Timothy Johnson, who is more cautious. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 7, 12. For a history of the development of the Septuagint, see Nina L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*, VTSup 82 (Boston: Brill, 2000); and Timothy Michael Law, *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. chs. 8 and 9. See also Benjamin G. Wright III, "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. by Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 47–61.
- 7 H.F.D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel," *JTS* 44 (1943), 129–38; Jacques Dupont, "ΛΑΟΙ ΕΞ ΕΘΝΩΝ (Act. xv.14)," *NTS* 3, no. 1 (1956), 47–50; cf. William G. Most, "Did St. Luke Imitate the Septuagint?" *JNST* 5, no. 15 (1982), 30–41, who argues Luke's Septuagintal style was an unintentional result of his "slavish translation" of Hebrew texts (38).
- 8 E.g., Max Wilcox, "The Old Testament in Acts 1–15," *ABR* 5 (1956), 1–41; R. Steven Notley, "Non-Septuagintal Hebraisms in the Third Gospel: An Inconvenient Truth," 320–346 in *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea*, ed. by Randall Buth and R. Steven Notley (Boston: Brill, 2014); Kai Akagi, "Luke 1:49 and the Form of Isaiah in Luke: An Overlooked Allusion and the Problem of an Assumed LXX Text," *JBL* 138, no. 1 (2019), 183–201. The question of the language of Luke's scriptures is a slightly different question—albeit still related—from that of Luke's linguistic Semitisms, on which see Albert Hogeterp and Adelbert Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke's Greek*, WUNT 401 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018); "Several items in Luke's Greek relate to other Semitic backgrounds and thereby yield the impression that Luke did also incorporate local Semitic colors of gospel tradition on the early Jesus movement in its Jewish milieu in Israel ... Luke does not exhibit a unilateral tendency of lessening local Semitic colors of gospel tradition, but rather alternates between diminishing and adding Semitic flavor" (493–4).

apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts from the Second-Temple period.⁹ In this chapter, I use variations of the phrase “Israel’s scriptures” as a catch-all term to include all of the above writings—both canonical and noncanonical—that would have been recognizable in the late-first and early-second century CE as vital to the traditions and social identities of early Judaism and the nascent Jesus-worshipping movement. I use this label for two reasons: First, to avoid the theologically fraught anachronisms of terms like “Old Testament” and “Hebrew Bible”; and second, to emphasize Luke’s own understanding of scripture as a *seamless continuation* between Israelite tradition and Jesus’s earliest followers.

2 On “Jewish Interpretation” and “Christian Interpretation”

In seeking to identify the unique characteristics of Luke’s interpretative method, the question immediately arises: What exactly distinguishes “Jewish interpretation of scripture” from “Christian interpretation”? In his foreword

9 For a smattering of recent and important discussions of Luke’s interpretation of Israel’s scriptures, see: B.J. Koet, *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989); Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993); Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom, “The Influence of Jewish Literature in Luke-Acts,” 28–37 in “God, People, and Empire: Anti-Imperial Theology of Luke-Acts in Light of Jewish Portrayals of Gentile Rulers” (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2006); Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth, eds., *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), esp. 139–65; Emmanuelle Steffek, “Some Observations on the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15.20, 29 (and 21.25),” 133–40 in *Torah in the New Testament*, ed. by Michael Tait and Peter Oakes, LNTS 401 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009); Hyuk J. Kwon, “Psalm 118 (117 LXX) in Luke-Acts: Application of a ‘New Exodus Motif,’” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 30, no. 2 (2009), Art. #59, 6 pages, DOI: 10.4102/ve.v30i2.59; Joshua Jipp, “Luke’s Scriptural Suffering Messiah: A Search for Precedent, a Search for Identity,” *CBQ* 72, no. 2 (2010), 255–274; Bart Koet, Steve Moyise, and Joseph Verheyden, eds., *The Scripture of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Boston: Brill, 2013), esp. 81–128; J. Daniel Hays, “The Persecuted Prophet and Judgment on Jerusalem: The Use of LXX Jeremiah in the Gospel of Luke,” *BBR* 25, no. 4 (2015), 453–473; David P. Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel’s Legacy, Theologian of Israel’s ‘Christ’: A New Reading of the ‘Gospel Acts’ of Luke*, BZNW 182 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), esp. 205–327; Jeremy Otten, “The Bad Samaritans: The Elijah Motif in Luke 9:51–56,” *JSNT* 42, no. 3 (2020), 375–389; Aaron W. White, *The Prophets Agree: The Function of the Book of the Twelve Prophets in Acts*, BibInt 184 (Boston: Brill, 2020); and Rick Strelan, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020), 153–180. On Luke’s use of Isaiah in the ending of Acts, see Karl L. Armstrong, “The End of Acts and the Jewish Response: Condemnation, Tragedy, or Hope?” *CurBR* 17, no. 2 (2019), 209–230; and Petr Mareček, “Isaiah 6:9–10 in the Ending of Luke-Acts,” 100–119 in *Interactions in Interpretation: The Pilgrimage of Meaning through Biblical Texts and Contexts*, ed. by Jan Roskovec and Vít Hušek (Boston: Brill, 2020).

to Yerushalmi's *Zakhor*, Harold Bloom defines Jews as those who are uniquely concerned with interpretation: "The shadow of the Hebrew Bible is dark upon every page written by a consciously Jewish writer."¹⁰ Similarly, Lawrence Schiffman insists upon *halakhic* biblical interpretation as the identifying hallmark of Jewish texts and authors.¹¹ Such general definitions, however, are hardly useful for analyzing a first-century text of ambiguous provenance.¹² In his 2008 essay, "What Makes Exegesis either Christian or Jewish?" Herbert Bassler argues that the primary difference between Jewish interpretation and Christian interpretation is that of the messianic comportment of the reader:

However similar were the methods and styles and language that the Jewish and Christian exegetes used in the exegesis they did during [the periods of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages], as a result of the very different religious traditions to which they belonged the content of the exegesis they each did was very different. Whereas the Jewish exegete approached the biblical texts with the history of the eternal love of God for the Jews and the Jewish love for God uppermost in his mind, the Christian exegete approached the biblical texts with the figure of Christ uppermost in his mind. The exegesis the Jewish and Christian exegetes did makes this clear. It is also clear that the exegesis these interpreters did was for the benefit of their respective communities only. That is, with some exceptions, there was almost no reaching out from the one community to the

10 Harold Bloom, foreword to *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), xxv.

11 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "2 Enoch and Halakhah," 221–28 in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, ed. by Andrei A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccaccini (Boston: Brill, 2012), 221. Although Timothy Gabrielson has identified the weaknesses of this sort of criterion for categorizing Jewish texts, it is nonetheless significant that the author of Luke/Acts arguably may pass the "smell test" for his orientation toward Jewish halakhah. See, e.g., Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 133–151; Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, WUNT 2.355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), esp. chs. 7–11.

12 Indeed, as Amy-Jill Levine rightly notes, in cases like that of Luke and Acts such generalizations run the risk of collapsing the distinction between "Israel" and "Israel's scriptures": "Determining Luke's view of the 'Jewish religion' means not equating 'Judaism' with the religion of 'Israel' as determined by the Tanakh or the Septuagint ... Judaism is not Leviticus or the Psalms or any of the other books that comprised what most Jews regarded as 'Scripture' at the end of the first century CE; rather, 'Judaism' is the interpretation of those Scriptures as understood by those who considered themselves 'Jews' (*Ioudaioi*), or, if one must, 'Judeans,'" Levine, "Luke and the Jewish Religion," *Int.* 68, no. 4 (2014), 391–92.

other, so that each community for the most part remained ignorant of the genuine traditions of the other.¹³

While it may not be an understatement to suggest that Jews and Christians did eventually retreat to their respective interpretative communities, it is fundamentally problematic to draw such a hard a line between Jewish and Christian exegesis, especially when referring to the first and second centuries CE. Extreme caution and nuance are needed when discussing the complexities of social identity in late antiquity. Bassler's definitions are too cleanly delineated, with little room for the possibility of categorical "cross-pollination": Can it *really* be stated accurately that other Jewish communities never read scripture with a view to messianic expectation?¹⁴ Could early Christian readers of Israel's scriptures not be said to have approached the text with love for God uppermost in their mind?¹⁵ Finally, for our purposes here, it must be acknowledged that Bassler begins from the inherently flawed premise that Jewish and Christian biblical interpretation originated as the respective exegetical tasks of *two distinctly identifiable religions*. As Daniel Boyarin, Brent Nongbri, and others have consistently illustrated, however, this is simply not the case—the concept of religion itself is a rather recent construction, and one that was catalyzed in part by the historical and cultural relationship between Jewish and Christian communities in late antiquity.¹⁶ Even as early as 1983, Raymond

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- 13 Herbert W. Bassler, "What Makes Exegesis either Christian or Jewish?" 37–54 in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Lorenzo DiTamaso and Lucian Turcescu (Boston: Brill, 2008), 53.
 - 14 See Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), which illustrates how the early church's christological reading of Israel's scriptures emerged from contemporary Jewish exegetical practices. Similar christological readings of scripture may also be discerned among the Dead Sea Scrolls, e.g., John J. Collins, "He Shall Not Judge by What His Eyes See: Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2, no. 2 (1995), 145–64.
 - 15 This was certainly the case for Augustine (*Doctr. chr.* 1.36.40), who famously proposed a "rule of charity" to govern Christian biblical interpretation: "So if it seems to you that you have understood the divine scriptures, or any part of them, in such a way that by this understanding you do not build up this twin love of God and neighbor, then you have not yet understood them," Augustine, *Teaching Christianity*, trans. by Edmund Hill, O.P. (New York: New City Press, 1996), 129.
 - 16 See Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007); Leora Batnitzky, *How Judaism Became a Religion: An Introduction to Modern Jewish Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion: How*

Brown recognized the diversity of first-century Jewish and Christian perspectives, discerning in the New Testament alone as many as four different types of “Jewish Christianity”.¹⁷

James Davila argues that for the purpose of identifying a text of questionable provenance, Christian identity may be broadly construed as those who “accepted Jesus as divine redeemer and adopted the Jewish scriptures, but rejected the Jewish ritual law.”¹⁸ He clarifies: “Early Christianity *in its (retrospectively) orthodox forms as represented by the patristic authors* accepted the idea of monotheism ... rejected the temple and ritual cult, rejected the Torah apart from the Ten Commandments, and allegorized the national identity of Israel and the priesthood to apply to itself.”¹⁹ Yet like Bassler, Davila relies too heavily on later developments in the Christian tradition to define its earlier forms; Luke was not as hostile either to the Law or to the Jerusalem Temple as scholars once believed. Furthermore, if allegorizing the national identity of Israel and the Jewish priesthood to apply to members of a new religious sect distinguishes that sect apart from Jewish belief and practice, then much of our understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls must therefore be reassessed.²⁰

Additional parsing of terms, therefore, is needed. Timothy Gabrielson’s recent work on distinguishing “Jewish” and “Christian” writings is especially

Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016); and Boyarin, *Judaism: The Genealogy of a Modern Notion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019).

17 Raymond Brown, “Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity,” *CBQ* 45, no. 1 (1983), 74–79.

18 James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (Boston: Brill, 2005), 23.

19 Ibid, 23, emphasis original.

20 We must be cautious in ascribing a singular view of the Jerusalem Temple not only to Jews as a whole, but also to the Qumranites, where a community of “Doers of the Torah” spanned nearly two centuries. The *Damascus Document* appears to offer some measure of deference and concern for the purity of “the city of the temple” (*CD-A* XI.1–2), and *4QHalakhic Letter* (11.1) commands the reader to “be respectful towards the Temple.” At the same time, however, the *Pesher Habakkuk* characterizes Jerusalem as “a useless city [built] with blood” (*1QpHab* x.10), and the pesharist later refers to the Temple as having been “defiled” by the so-called “Wicked Priest” (xii.8–9), concluding with an invective against those who “serve stone and wood” (xiii.1–2). Perhaps the most intriguing counter-example to Davila’s characterization of early Christian rejection of the Temple is that of *The Community Rule* scroll, which de-emphasizes the centrality of the Temple while also elevating the *Yahad* itself as the allegorical Holy of Holies and God’s agent of atonement (*1QS* viii.4–10). Further, fragments of *4QFlorilegium* suggest that God has supplanted the Herodian Temple with the ambiguous “temple of man” (*4Q174* 1.2–7).

insightful on this point.²¹ Gabrielson cautions readers of the “operative but unspoken binaries”²² that scholars often employ when determining the ideological provenance of early Christian and Jewish texts, exposing the ways in which untenable methodological assumptions based upon these binaries can lead to further categorical errors.²³ As a corrective to this fallacy, Gabrielson proposes that we instead “bring labeling of ancient writings into line with the sociological and historic work that has been accomplished in the last several decades.”²⁴

He begins by posing an analogous question of more recent significance: *Was Jonathan Edwards the greatest American theologian?* The difficulty in answering such a question, according to Gabrielson, lies not with the superlative qualifier *greatest*, but instead that of *American*. Jonathan Edwards was born in 1703 and died in 1758, well before the American Revolution, and thus lived in a time when the definition of “American” would have signified little more than a subcategory of “British.”²⁵ Merely asking the question today, however, brings with it an unspoken assumption that “American” and “British” are two entirely distinct categories of persons: “It is not simply that the terms are polysemous,” Gabrielson argues. “More precisely, their polysemy is constructed through an array of opposites that are chronologically determined.”²⁶

Similarly, the question regarding “Jewish” or “Christian” texts operates on the presumption that these designations represent two mutually exclusive identities, as with Davila and Bassar above. Building from recent research which sees the “Parting of the Ways” beginning in the second century and continuing until at least the fourth century, Gabrielson argues that if a text is believed to have originated in the first or second century (i.e., before the “Parting” had occurred), then we must therefore rethink our binary characterization of that text as *either* “Jewish” or “Christian.” “To pose the issue in an either/or way for

21 Timothy A. Gabrielson, “On Distinguishing ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ Writings: Or, How to Avoid Making 1 Corinthians ‘Jewish’ and James ‘Non-Jewish’” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, San Diego, CA, Nov. 25, 2019), 11.

22 Ibid.

23 To illustrate, Gabrielson cites the once-popular assumption that Jewish texts only concerned themselves with legal deliberation and cultic ritual, which led Rainer Metzner to conclude against Jacobian authorship as well as Jewish readership of the Epistle of James. “In my judgment, Metzner’s concerns about identifying ‘James’ with James the Just have real purchase, and should not be dismissed summarily, but *his argument against a Jewish Sitz im Leben mistakes a common feature of Second Temple Judaism for a necessary one*,” Gabrielson, 11, emphasis added.

24 Ibid, 4.

25 Ibid, 2.

26 Ibid.

a fourth-century document may well be fair, but *for the first century or two the question must be whether a writing stems from Christianity or another form of Judaism ...* If [scholars] judge that 2 Enoch has its origins in the first century, and the consensus is that the ‘parting’ had not yet occurred at that date, then we should not have to choose between ‘Jewish’ or ‘Christian.’”²⁷

Gabrielson proposes a new threefold taxonomy for categorizing Jewish and Christian literature.²⁸ The first and broadest level of this taxonomy encompasses both Jews and Christians in the first century. Gabrielson prefers “heirs of the Israelite heritage,” but finds this phrase too clunky and unwieldy for repeated use. He ultimately decides that “Jewish” should remain the term of choice, but with additional modifiers for clarification. Rejecting the label “Second-Temple” as an insufficient modifier for this task,²⁹ Gabrielson proposes instead “Roman-era Jewish,” “early-imperial Jewish,” or, following Gabriele Boccaccini, “middle-Jewish.”³⁰ The second tier of Gabrielson’s threefold taxonomy considers “positive partisan identity and characteristics.”³¹ These group traits positively identify various forms of Roman-era Judaism without necessarily being mutually exclusive of one another. Gabrielson lists “Essene,” “Hellenistic,” “Christian,” “proto-orthodox,” and “proto-rabbinic” as examples.³² Finally, the third and most precise level of Gabrielson’s taxonomy identifies those characteristics which are adopted in *contradistinction* to other forms of similar or related identities, like “anti-gnostic,” “anti-Temple,” etc. Only when adopting one identity necessarily entails the rejection of the other, Gabrielson argues, is it appropriate to employ such binaries.³³ To illustrate the full range of the threefold taxonomy when all three levels are employed for the study of a first- or second-century text, Gabrielson experiments with 1 Corinthians:

27 Ibid, 6–7, emphasis added. See also Jill Hicks-Keeton’s analogous proposal when dealing with the ambiguous authorial identity of the apocryphal text *Joseph and Aseneth*; Hicks-Keeton, “Aseneth between Judaism and Christianity: Reframing the Debate,” *JSJ* 49 (2018), 1–34. On the “parting of the ways” as a heuristic metaphor, see Gabrielson, “Parting Ways or Rival Siblings? A Review and Analysis of Metaphors for the Separation of Jews and Christians in Antiquity,” *CurBR* 19, no. 2 (2021), 178–204.

28 Gabrielson, “On Distinguishing ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ Writings,” 14.

29 “A phrase that lumps together Ezra and Paul but, if we want to be fastidious, eliminates [the author of] 4 Ezra, is not well attuned,” *ibid*, 15.

30 *Ibid*. See also Gabriele Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 24–5.

31 Gabrielson, “On Distinguishing ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ Writings,” 16.

32 *Ibid*, 16.

33 *Ibid*, 17.

We begin by classifying Paul's letter as simply 'early imperial Jewish,' to which we can add 'Christian,' 'Hellenistic,' and 'halakhic,' and then finish with 'anti-gnosis,' or more fully, 'against a Philonic-like anthropology.' It is through this final step that we can name the slow parting of the ways. For Ignatius or Justin, we can arguably speak of 'Christian' and 'anti-Judaism,' or better, 'proto-orthodox' and 'anti-proto-rabbinic,' while remembering that this is a relatively new and isolated phenomenon.³⁴

There is no question that Luke/Acts is the work of an author who believed that Jesus of Nazareth was Israel's promised messiah and a "prophet like Moses" (Acts 3:22–23; cf. Deut 18:15–22), even if the author never explicitly identifies himself as a "Christian."³⁵ Functionally, however, there is very little distinction between "Jewish" exegesis and "Christian" exegesis in the late-first and early-second centuries.³⁶ In the final analysis, then, the question of Luke's ethnicity should not (and perhaps *cannot*) converge on whether Luke and Acts are Jewish *or* Christian texts. Following Gabrielson, we ought to resist the temptation to essentialize the complexities of first-century social identity into discrete categories that rely on overemphasizing the differences between modern notions of "Jewish" and "Christian."³⁷

34 Ibid. The problem here, of course, is that under such a taxonomy certain early Christian writers like Ignatius or Justin Martyr would be classified as 1) Middle-Jewish; 2) Christian; and 3) Anti-Jewish. This is perhaps where the usefulness of the general first level of the taxonomy may be called into question. Gabrielson does not address this problem in his essay.

35 The word "Christian" appears only twice in the entire corpus of Luke/Acts, both times as a designation by outsiders, and neither Luke nor any of his characters refer to themselves by this term. In fact, the opposite might be implied by the appearance of the first-person plural ἡμῶν in Acts 16:16, the beginning of the confrontation at Philippi. If the author intended his readers to understand that he was present with Paul and Silas in Philippi, the accusation leveled against the group by gentiles in Acts 16:20–21 (Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες) would appear to include Luke, as well. On the role of ethnic discourse in the Philippian conflict in Acts 16, see Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 2.294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), esp. 173–237. Barreto limits his discussion to Paul and Silas, however, and does not address how the author's presumed presence among Paul and Silas's cohort at Philippi in 16:16 appears to implicate Luke himself in the accusation.

36 The differences do multiply across the centuries, however, and much depends on the date of Luke/Acts' composition. See below, "A Matter of Time".

37 See also Robert Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary*, esp. 21–23. Relatedly, it is possible that the historical insistence on identity binaries like Jewish *or* Christian has been a consequence of the predominance of male perspectives within the discipline of biblical scholarship. Sociological research has confirmed that men tend to view identities in either/or terms, while women often perceive identity along a spectrum; see Brawley,

It seems to me that the more critical question, rather, is how to distinguish between a text written by a Jew—Christian or otherwise—and one written by a formerly pagan gentile. This question invites further comparison between Luke/Acts and other ancient Greco-Roman literature in antiquity: If Luke were writing as a gentile, it would be crucial to find similarities to Luke's vast knowledge and nuanced interpretation of Israel's scriptures in the writings of other pagans and former pagans who also engaged in some form of biblical interpretation.

3 Luke's Interpretation of Israel's Scriptures: A Brief Overview

It is difficult to overstate the extent of Luke's deep familiarity with Israel's scriptures. Luke and Acts reveal an authorial awareness of the subtleties of Second-Temple Jewish exegesis unparalleled by any other text in the New Testament, as J.W. Doeve argued as early as 1953.³⁸ The pervasive influence of Israel's scriptures throughout the narrative of Luke/Acts holds consequences for thinking about Lukan authorship.³⁹ As François Bovon writes, "The origin of [Luke's quotations] reveals Luke's scriptural preferences and the traditions he uses. The form of the text allows us to situate Luke—and thus his theology—in the stream of primitive Christianity. Then the nature of the scriptural argument specifies the logic of Lukan faith."⁴⁰ According to Craig Evans, in addition to Luke's portrayal of Jesus as a "prophet like Moses," the author's appropriation of Israel's scriptures represents "a conscious attempt to align the story of Jesus ... with the canonical traditions of Israel's heritage."⁴¹ Similarly,

Luke, 24. This fact alone should be enough to emphasize the need for more women and those of non-binary gender identities to enter the field of biblical studies.

38 J.W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); see also J.W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," *NTS* 14 (1967), 96–111. Bowker's thesis has drawn considerable criticism, not least for the anachronism of applying rabbinic forms to NT texts. cf. Fitzmyer, *To Advance the Gospel*, 312n17, who argues that both Doeve and Bowker stretch the evidence beyond its reasonable limits.

39 For an excellent and concise overview of the scholarly literature on Luke's interpretation of Israel's scriptures, see Kenneth D. Litwak, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts: Luke's Scriptural Story of the 'Things Accomplished among Us,'" 147–70 in *Issues in Luke-Acts: Selected Essays*, ed. by Sean A. Adams and Michael W. Pahl (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).

40 François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-five Years of Research (1950–2005)*, 2nd rev. ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 91.

41 Evans, *Luke and Scripture*, 105.

Robert Brawley sees Luke as an author committed to weaving Israel's traditions throughout the story of Jesus and the apostolic church: "Luke-Acts appropriates scripture in all its nuances with a dominant theocentric perspective," which ultimately comprises a "sustained interplay with scripture—an interplay that is not peripheral but constitutive for Luke-Acts."⁴² Luke thus styles his two-part narrative as a *continuation* of Israel's biblical salvation history.⁴³ As Jacob Jervell observed, "Luke knows only one single unbroken history of salvation, and throughout its course the goal is always the same, namely the salvation of Israel and the gentiles, those who come to share in the salvation of the people of God."⁴⁴ Before moving on to the two central questions this chapter seeks to address, it is important to outline two essential features of Lukan scriptural interpretation.

First, Luke's interpretation of Israel's scriptures serves a twofold purpose within his narrative: It is both *christological* and *ecclesiological*.⁴⁵ Whatever else may be said about Luke's exegetical technique, its characteristic feature is that of Roman-era Jewish messianism.⁴⁶ One of the central tasks of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles is to offer a narrative rationale for how a

42 Robert L. Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1.

43 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 95; *pace* Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. by Geoffrey Buswell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 157. cf. Nils A. Dahl, "The Purpose of Luke-Acts," in *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976), 88. See also Michael Wolter, *The Gospel According to Luke*, Vol. 1, trans. by Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016): "Perspectives on Luke-Acts that want to see it merely as the story of Christianity's emergence are shown to be too narrow. These interpretations overlook the fact that Luke always narrates the history of the *expansion* of the witness of Christ also as a history of its *rejection*, which repeatedly leads to *separations* ... With the help of Isaiah 6:9–10 he explains why the majority of the Jews have rejected the message of Christ. But precisely in this way, i.e., with recourse to the model of hardening formulated by the prophet Isaiah, the rejection is brought into the history of Israel. *According to the Lukan view, the Jewish rejection of the Christ message can only be understood at all as a part of the history of Israel*," Wolter, *Luke*, 34–35, emphasis added.

44 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 179n23.

45 Litwak, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," 151.

46 Cf. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, "The absolute 'the Messiah' never appears in the OT. The noun is always followed by a modifier ('his messiah,' 'my messiah,' 'the Lord's messiah,' etc.). The Qumran sectaries could speak of both a royal and a priestly figure as 'anointed,' though neither is referred to simply as 'the Messiah.' Usage in the NT presumes a stage in the development of messianic language beyond that of Qumran. Some of the links in that developing tradition still remain unaccounted for" (11). See also Matthew V. Novenson, *The Grammar of Messianism: An Ancient Jewish Political Idiom and Its Users* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

crucified criminal—who under normal circumstances would be regarded as divinely cursed (cf. Deut 21:23)—could be rightly construed as God’s “anointed” in any serious sense.⁴⁷ Yet an additional and often-overlooked feature of Luke’s narrative that orients the author’s approach to scripture is its *ecclesiological* dimension. Luke reads Israel’s narrative history to lend apologetic support for the Christian claim of Jesus’s messiahship, *and* to illustrate a seamless continuity between Israel and the earliest community of Jesus’s followers, most likely to strengthen his audience’s sense of self-definition.⁴⁸ Contrary to later patristic writers, Luke never characterizes the early Jesus worshipers as the “true Israel,” but instead as “Israel restored” (i.e., Luke 24:21; Acts 1:6).⁴⁹ Neither does he depict the Jewish people as having been finally and totally rejected by God as a whole, as some have claimed.⁵⁰ Rather, for Luke, God’s revelation of Jesus

47 So Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 90: “References to Scripture are important because for Luke the Scripture is the holy book of the people of God, just as the law for him is Israel’s identifying feature. Characteristic of the apostolic preaching, including Paul’s, is its basis in interpretation of Scripture (cf. 2:17ff., 25ff.; 3:22ff.; 13:33ff.). Jesus is not called upon as the final authority, for he is the one who is to be ‘verified.’” This adoption of scripture differs significantly from the christological apologetics of other early Christian writers like Justin Martyr, whose primary concern is not to explain Jesus’s messiahship in light of scriptural counterevidence so much as it is to argue in favor of proto-orthodox theological claims about Christ’s nature (e.g., his preexistence). See Susan J. Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Boston: Brill, 2011), esp. 103ff.: “In other words, Luke uses the Jewish scriptures as a lens through which to interpret the story of Jesus while Justin uses the story of Jesus as a lens through which to interpret the Jewish scriptures” (105–106).

48 Susan J. Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, esp. 17–18. See also Rebecca Denova, *The Things Accomplished Among Us: Prophetic Tradition in the Structural Pattern of Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup 141 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*; Kenneth D. Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God’s People Intertextually*, JSNTSup 282 (New York: T&T Clark, 2005). Jervell explored Luke/Acts almost exclusively through the lens of Lukan ecclesiology in *Luke and the People of God*, though his effort in this sphere has remained largely ignored.

49 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 95; Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–IX*, 59. See also Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016), “The overall design of Luke’s two-volume work ... highlights God’s purpose in fulfilling the promise of redemption for his people Israel” (191). This note of hope for the liberation of Israel is struck from the very moment the Third Gospel opens with the appearance of Gabriel—the prophet Daniel’s messenger of Israel’s redemption—to Zechariah in Luke 1. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 196.

50 The ending of Acts does not represent God’s final rejection of Israel, but instead remains hopeful that those Jews who reject Jesus’s messiahship ultimately will be inspired to *repentance*, another key theme throughout Luke/Acts. See Karl Armstrong’s review of trends in the secondary literature regarding the ending of Acts; Armstrong, “The End of Acts and the Jewish Response.”

as the Jewish messiah marked a watershed moment in Israel's salvation-history and precipitated a *krisis* among Jews, dividing them into two distinct groups: one the one hand, the repentant, obedient, and "faithful"; on the other, the unrepentant and "disobedient".⁵¹ Moreover, this continuity between the historical Israel and the apostolic Jesus movement is an indicator of Luke's own theological aims and influence, not only as a mere editor of Israel's scriptural tradition, but as an *author*.⁵² Speaking of the prominent themes of God's kindness to Israel found in Luke's opening chapters, Richard Hays notes:

Remarkably, older redaction-critic studies of Luke were often blind to [Luke's scriptural] themes of liberation and the programmatic significance of the story of Israel, perhaps because they tended to regard the Lukan birth and infancy material as coming from a pre-Lukan source that could not be assumed to represent Luke's own theology ... [Yet,] even if this material is derived from a source, we must ask *why* Luke has given it such prominence in his composition and what narrative effects are created by its placement at the beginning of the story.⁵³

In other words, while a hypothetical source may indeed undergird Luke's scriptural appropriation, to deny the author's agency in selecting, arranging, and integrating these sources into his broader narrative and thematic structure would be to miss the exegetical forest for the source-critical trees.⁵⁴

This leads us to the second essential characteristic of Lukan scriptural interpretation, its *allusiveness*. While Luke does often cite scripture directly, these

⁵¹ Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 42.

⁵² According to Morton Enslin, for instance, Luke's unique thematic dependence upon the Elijah-Elisha saga "suggests his own craftsmanship"; Enslin, "Luke and Matthew: Compilers or Authors?" *ANRW* 25.3:2374. Similarly, Adelbert Denaux suggests the author maintained a "conscious parallelism" between Jesus and Elijah; Denaux, "The Use of Scripture in Luke 9:51–56," 59. See also A.W. Zwiep, "Assumptus est in caelum," 38–67 in *Christ, the Spirit and the Community of God*, *WUNT* 2.293 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), "One cannot ignore the strong points of correspondence between the ascension story and the early Jewish rapture-preservation traditions. Luke himself clearly puts us on this track. The terms he uses to describe the ascension immediately call to mind Elijah's spectacular ascent into heaven (cf. 2 Kgdms 2 LXX; 1 Macc 2:58; Sir 48:9–12 with Luke 9:51; Acts 1:2, 9–11). The very first reference to Jesus' ascension in Luke-Acts (Luke 9:51 *red*) is a verbal echo of the opening words of the Elijah story (cf. 2 Kgdms 2:1 LXX)," 59–60, quoted in Denaux, *op. cit.*, 69.

⁵³ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 200.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 243.

quotations only ever occur within the context of prosopopoeic speech.⁵⁵ The vast majority of Luke's scriptural references arise as subtle intertextual allusions, or what Richard Hays calls "implicit correspondences".⁵⁶ Luke constructs his characters as types of well-known scriptural forerunners, featuring events that recall God's saving acts in Israel's history.⁵⁷ He also echoes recurrent literary and theological themes woven throughout the biblical narrative.⁵⁸ In this way, Luke draws the continuation of Israel's past into the present with "the things having been brought to completion among us" (τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν, Luke 1:1), portraying the eventual gentile mission in Acts as a natural progression of events that proceeds directly out of God's covenanted faithfulness to Israel.⁵⁹

The "implicit correspondences" that convey this master narrative, however, are so "implicit" that they require something of a shared cultural knowledge in order to be grasped. Hays draws on Umberto Eco's theoretical notion of an "encyclopedia" to explain how these nuanced allusions to Israel's scriptures may nonetheless be discerned operating behind the diegetic curtain of Luke/Acts.⁶⁰ According to Eco, one's contextual encyclopedia comprises many of the semantic and pragmatic assumptions which the reader brings with

55 With the sole exception of Luke 3:4–5. See O'Day, "The Citation of Scripture as a Key to Characterization in Acts," 208; See also Luke Timothy Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash in the Speeches of Acts* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2002).

56 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 193. For more on Hays's methodology, including his use of John Hollander's *The Figure of the Echo*, see Hays, op. cit., 6–14, but esp. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 14–21. Intertextual approaches to New Testament studies have not been without their rightful critics. See, e.g., David I. Yoon, "The Ideological Inception of Intertextuality and its Dissonance in Current Biblical Studies," *CurBR* 12, no. 1 (2012), 58–76; Susan Docherty, "Do You Understand What You Are Reading?' (Acts 8:30): Current Trends and Future Perspectives in the Study of the Use of the Old Testament in the New," *JSNT* 38, no. 1 (2015), 112–125; and Paul Foster, "Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament," *JSNT* 38, no. 1 (2015), 96–111.

57 "The things that happen in Luke are the *kinds* of things that happened in the tales of the patriarchs and prophets, and the plotted action, while never simply identical to the Old Testament stories, is often suggestively reminiscent of Israel's sacred past," Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 194.

58 Craig Evans is essentially correct when he assesses that Luke's references to Israel's scriptures "range from the obvious to the subtle, from explicit citation and/or comment to allusion. As an example of the subtle, in the infancy narrative Luke alludes to the rearing of Samuel in the temple (compare Luke 1:80; 2:40, 52 with 1 Sam 2:26), *which would be clear only to those who knew their Old Testament stories well*," Evans, *Luke and Scripture*, 104, emphasis added.

59 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 195, 218.

60 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 10; 195; 198; 229; and 417n96.

them to the text. This often includes a shared language, but may feature other commonalities, as well. "Contextual selections are previously established by a semantic representation with the format of an encyclopedia *and are only virtually present in a given text* ... Context and (coded) circumstances depend on the fact that the encyclopedia also encompasses an *intertextual competence*: every text refers back to previous texts."⁶¹ Simply put, Luke's allusions to the scriptures are so percipient, so deftly woven throughout Luke and Acts, that these texts could only therefore be the product of a mind that has spent a lifetime saturated in the shared stories of Israel's past; such an author might be said to "speak scripture" as though it were a secondary language. It is crucial to understand, then, that not only does Luke presume a certain familiarity with Israel's scriptures on the part of his reader, but also that Luke's own grasp of the Israelite tradition—and his skill in generating what Hays calls a "narrative world thick with scriptural memory"—inherently reveals something about the author's cultural context.⁶²

The brief foregoing analysis leaves us with a question for further consideration: *If Luke did intend to craft an anti-Jewish, supersessionist gospel, why then would he choose to portray the early church as a continuation of Israel's salvation history, rather than an irrevocable break with Israel's past, as would be the case with later Christian writers like Justin Martyr?*⁶³ If Luke were in fact a gentile writing in the early second century, nothing would have required him to hitch the narrative wagon of the gentile mission in Acts to Israel's salvation history as recounted through the Jewish scriptures.⁶⁴ Yet clearly he felt compelled to do so.⁶⁵

61 Eco, *The Role of the Reader*, 19, emphasis added. For a more thorough explanation of Eco's concept of the encyclopedia, see Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976), 112–14.

62 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 193–4.

63 For Justin, the continuity between the Israelite tradition and Christianity begins and ends with the fact that Jews and Christians worship the same God (*Dial.* 11.1). See esp. *Dial.* 123.7–9, "Therefore, as your [i.e., Trypho's] whole people was called after that one Jacob, surnamed Israel, *so we who obey the precepts of Christ, are*, through Christ who begot us to God, both called *and in reality are*, Jacob and Israel and Judah and Joseph and David and true children of God," Thomas B. Falls, trans., *St. Justin Martyr: Dialogue with Trypho*, ed. by Michael Slusser (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2003), 186, emphasis added.

64 "Though the call to Jews to 'repent and turn to God' (Acts 3:19) might have been heard by observant Jews as an onerous imposition of a hegemonic Christian exclusivism, Luke appears to have regarded this kerygmatic encounter as one that affirmed God's covenantal fidelity to Israel, a fidelity that could, in this and other instances, be made the ground of an evangelistic appeal," Smith, "The Jewishness of Luke-Acts," 16.

65 "If the Gospel of Luke ... poses a theological conundrum, this result follows from Luke's tenacious adherence to the story of Israel as the hermeneutical matrix for understanding

Perhaps the most convenient response to this problem is that Luke intended his work to be read as an *apologia* before the Roman imperium on behalf of a nascent Christianity, portraying followers of the Way as a politically non-threatening sect rooted in the ancient and venerable tradition of the Jews.⁶⁶ Yet Jacob Jervell rightly refuted this very thesis half a century ago.⁶⁷ Much of the theological *content* of Luke/Acts would be virtually incoherent to pagan Roman readers.⁶⁸ Luke also repeatedly casts Romans in an “unfortunate light”:

the story of Jesus. Because the God narrated in Luke's Gospel is the same God revealed to Moses and the prophets, and because Luke's unfolding story of the kingdom of God is the fulfillment of that same God's promises, it should come as no surprise that the same mysterious tension between compassion and judgment that we find in Israel's Scripture plays itself out again in the pages of Luke's story,” Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 221.

66 E.g., Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, trans. by Bernard Noble et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 693; Johnson, *Luke*, 9: “To a possible outside Hellenistic reader, the Christian movement is presented as a philosophically enlightened, politically harmless, socially benevolent and philanthropic fellowship.” By contrast, cf. Richard J. Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics, and Society: A Study of Luke's Gospel* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1978); and Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom, “God, People, and Empire.” Arguably the most prominent dissenting contemporary critic is C. Kevin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), “No longer can Acts be seen as a simple *apologia* that articulates Christianity's harmlessness vis-à-vis Rome. Yet neither is it a direct call for liberation, a kind of theological vision that takes for granted the solidity of preexistent political arrangements. Rather, in its attempt to form communities that witness to God's apocalypse, Luke's second volume is a highly charged and theologically sophisticated political document that aims at nothing less than the construction of an alternative total way of life—a comprehensive pattern of being—one that runs counter to the life-patterns of the Graeco-Roman world” (4).

67 While the scholars noted above have argued that Luke and especially Acts were written as *apologiae* to Rome on behalf of Christianity by situating the Jesus movement within the context of a revered and ancient “*religio licita*” like Judaism, Jervell argued that the speeches in Acts instead serve as an apology for *Paul* aimed at Jewish Christians who might be suspicious of Paul's rumored abrogation of the Law of Moses. See Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 153–183. For more recent critiques of the *apologia* hypothesis, see J. Andrew Cowan, *The Writings of Luke and the Jewish Roots of the Christian Way: An Examination of the Aims of the First Christian Historian in the Light of Ancient Politics, Ethnography, and Historiography*, LNTS 599 (New York: T&T Clark, 2019); and Drew J. Strait, *Hidden Criticism of the Angry Tyrant in Early Judaism and the Acts of the Apostles* (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress Academic, 2019).

68 E.g., Controversies concerning Jesus's messiahship, the theological debate over the place of resurrection in Jewish thought, the tension between Jews and Samaritans, etc. C.K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (London: Epworth, 1961), 63, cited in Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 156. Litwak has similarly concluded that “without the necessary knowledge of the biblical text, Luke's allusions and echoes will be of little value to the reader ... While the composition of Luke's audience is unknown, it seems likely that it contains both Jews and gentiles, because Luke's narrative assumes some at least of his audience will know the Scriptures of Israel well enough to recognize his allusions

Antonius Felix, the Roman procurator of Judea, is portrayed as an extortionist (Acts 24:25–26), and Pilate is characterized as a bloodthirsty tyrant (Luke 13:1) who is one of the principal conspirators against Jesus (Acts 4:27).⁶⁹ Hays has also noted a further problem for this thesis in the insinuation behind Luke's temptation narrative (Luke 4:1–13) that imperial authority originates with Satan (vv.6–7)—hardly a winning appeal by one who supposedly wishes to endear the Christian movement to Rome!⁷⁰ Finally, we must also ask why a pro-Roman audience would have any interest whatsoever in the restoration of Israel and Jerusalem (Luke 2:38, 24:21; Acts 1:6),⁷¹ or for that matter in Luke's recurring theme of God's mercy and kindness to his people Israel (e.g., Luke 1:54–55, 67–79; Luke 6:36 // Exod 34:5–7; Luke 6:35–36 // Ps 144:8–9; Luke 6:27–38 // Ps 85:5 LXX),⁷² or in his depiction of Jesus as a Davidic king (cf. Luke 1:32, 69;

and echoes of Scripture," Litwak, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," 162n59. See also Susan J. Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, "Some of the most important differences between [Luke's and Justin's] representations of scriptural interpretation suggest that they did not address identical contextual concerns, and these differences call for a reconsideration of two assumptions that are often made by scholars who favor a second-century date for Luke-Acts: 1) that Luke participated in a form of second-century, non-Jewish 'Christianity' that saw itself in contradistinction to 'Judaism' and 2) that Luke appeals to the Jewish scriptures in order to show the legitimacy of the Christ-believing community within the Roman Empire" (22); *pace* Johnson, *Luke*, "[Luke's] readers were in all likelihood gentiles; a great deal of Luke-Acts, in fact, would not make sense if its readers were not gentile" (3).

69 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 157. By contrast, note that many Jews throughout both Luke and Acts are explicitly depicted as "righteous" (e.g., Elizabeth and Zechariah, Mary, Anna, Simeon, Joseph of Arimathea, Gamaliel, and the Jews of Beroea and Rome). "It can hardly be the case, therefore, that Luke portrayed [these Jews] as he did in order to bolster gentile Christian identity at the expense of a denigrated Jewish alterity," Smith, "The Jewishness of Luke-Acts," 18.

70 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 266–7.

71 Citing the uniquely Lukan prophecy found in Luke 21:34, Arthur Wainwright noted in 1977 that for the author of the Third Gospel, the "times of the gentiles" are but an intervening period between Jerusalem's destruction and its eventual restoration. Wainwright, "Luke and the Restoration of the Kingdom to Israel," *ExpTim* 89, no. 3 (1977), 77–8.

72 See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 212–215. Hays notes that the characteristically Lukan divine attributes in 6:35–36—*χρηστός* and *οικτίρμων*—find parallels throughout the Septuagintal Psalms: "Upon closer examination of the context in which such language appears in the Psalms, we see that the description of God as *χρηστός* is not merely a vague character attribute: it refers specifically to God's gracious acts of covenant faithfulness toward Israel. For particularly telling examples, see Psalm 105:1 LXX and Psalm 106:1 LXX, where the confession that the Lord is good/kind (*χρηστός*) introduces lengthy recitations of the ways in which God has redeemed and delivered his people Israel despite their heedlessness and sinful ways" (214).

3:31–32, 18:35–43; 20:41–44)?⁷³ The most likely explanation, I suggest, is that Luke holds close ties to an audience of Jewish Christ-followers, and was very likely a Hellenized Jew himself.

4 “Do You Understand What You Are Reading?”

Jack T. Sanders writes of Acts 13:27–28, “It is impossible for the reader to escape who is really condemned [for the death of Jesus]. It is those Jerusalem Jews who did not have the sense to understand their own scriptures.”⁷⁴ Sanders is not alone in his assessment.⁷⁵ As Amy-Jill Levine has also noted, “By the end of the Gospel [of Luke], it is only Jesus and his followers who attend to the

73 “The effect, then, of Gabriel’s words [in Luke 1:26–38] is to kindle the reader’s expectation that God’s ancient promise to David will now find its fulfillment, despite the intervening years of exile, in an everlasting kingdom ruled by a king who is both son of David and son of the One who gave the promise. This interpretation assumes a reader whose ‘encyclopedia of reception’ includes knowledge of the story of God’s promise to David, which is also recalled and elaborated in Psalm 89. Characteristically, Luke is content to *allude* to this well-known messianic promise without any citation formula, without any overt cues to the reader to read intertextually,” Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 195–6.

74 Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987), 52. Sanders repeats this argument on 60 and 201. Curiously, however, he fails to adequately address Acts 4:25ff., in which Luke attributes Jesus’s death to a conspiracy between “Herod, Pontius Pilate, the gentiles, and the people of Israel.” See Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 157.

75 E.g., Eugène Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1926), 400; Alfred Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1956) 155; Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), 72; Eric Franklin, *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (1975), 95; John J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech: A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7, 2–53* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 102; Stephen G. Wilson, “The Jews and the Death of Jesus in Acts,” 155–164 in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Vol. 1: Paul and the Gospels*, ed. by Peter Richardson with David Granskou (Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 158; and Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 139. cf., however, David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980), 38–39 *et passim*; Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Acts* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2005), 121; Eldon J. Epp, “Early Christian Attitudes toward ‘Things Jewish’ as Narrated by Textual Variants in Acts: A Case Study of the D-Textual Cluster” 141–171 in *Bridging Between Sister Religions: Studies of Jewish and Christian Scriptures Offered in Honor of Prof John T. Townsend*, ed. by Isaac Kalimi (Boston: Brill, 2016), 152. See also Epp’s earlier work, “The ‘Ignorance Motif’ in Acts and Anti-Judaic Tendencies in Codex Bezae,” *HTR* 55, no. 1 (1962), 51–62; and Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 792.

Scriptures, and only they have the key to understanding them ... Whatever practice, theology, ritual, salvation history, or hermeneutic is available must, for Luke, culminate in Jesus. If it does not, it is incomplete or illegitimate."⁷⁶ Similarly, citing Peter's speeches in Acts 2 and 3, Levine elsewhere arrives at the false conclusion that according to Luke, the ignorance of "the Jews" leads to their indictment for the crucifixion of the Messiah: "Rome is exculpated and Israel, the Jews, is guilty of Jesus' death."⁷⁷

This is not the place for a full analysis of Luke's treatment of Jews in Luke/Acts. Instead, I am more interested in framing Luke's exegesis of Israel's scriptures properly against the backdrop of Second-Temple (or Roman-Era) Judaism. In stark contrast to the views discussed above, Luke appears to suggest that the real matter of critical importance is *receptivity to a reinterpretation of Israel's scriptures* (e.g. Acts 8:30–31, 17:10–15, 18:28), which more or less

76 Amy-Jill Levine, "Luke and the Jewish Religion," 399. Levine is not necessarily wrong here. As I argue, however, the historical record contains numerous examples of sectarian Jewish writings whose authors hold similar presuppositions. Commenting on Luke's temptation narrative elsewhere, however, Levine argues: "The devil knows the texts, but only Jesus both understands them and practices them as they should be practiced. With this scene, Luke establishes a trope: whoever challenges Jesus on scriptural interpretation is on the side of the devil," Levine, "Luke and the Jewish Religion," 398. Nearly all of Levine's criticisms of Luke's representation of "the Jewish religion" in the Third Gospel, however, may be attributed to the constraints placed upon Luke's narration by earlier gospel tradition. Indeed, if one wanted to understand Luke's unrestrained opinion on Jews, Acts would perhaps be methodologically better suited to such an analysis. Levine's reading of the story of the Rich Man and Lazarus is also deeply flawed. According to Levine, Abraham's response to the rich man's request to send Lazarus to warn his family "removes Jewish Torah from practical import," (398). This is an astonishing reading of the parable; Abraham's response in fact suggests *the utmost importance of Torah*, not its denigration! The suggestion that Abraham "removes Jewish Torah from practical import" ignores the irony of the parable's conclusion: Why would a spectral visit from beyond the grave change the minds of the rich man's living family, if they will not even listen to the authoritative words of the prophets? cf. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, "The rich man receives condemnation not simply because he was wealthy but because *he was ignoring his obligations to God under the covenant God made with Israel*," 205, emphasis added.

77 Levine, "Proclamation, Translation, Implication: Addressing the Vilification of "the Jews" 267–89 in *Found in Translation: Essays on Jewish Biblical Translation in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon*, ed. by James W. Barker and Anthony Le Donne (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2018), 270. This perspective ignores the prophecy of the Lukan Jesus that the Son of Man "will be handed over to the gentiles; and he will be mocked and insulted and spat upon. After they have flogged him, they will kill him, and on the third day he will rise again" (Luke 18:32–33, NRSV). cf. Jon A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup 106 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 175: "Luke-Acts gives no indication that its author regarded the entire nation of Israel as having rejected Jesus and the gospel."

confirms Jacob Jervell's thesis that by Luke's reckoning, Israel has not *rejected* Jesus's messiahship outright, but rather has become *divided* on the issue.⁷⁸ That Luke attributes ignorance to certain Jews is undeniable (e.g. Luke 2:48–50; 23:34;⁷⁹ 24:25–27;⁸⁰ Acts 3:17; 13:27).⁸¹ That he intends this ignorance to be a wholesale criticism of “the Jews” is unlikely, though perhaps debatable. That this attribution of ignorance therefore must serve as evidence that Luke was anti-Jewish is extremely dubious. To my knowledge, *no one* has shown that this means that Luke must have been a gentile *outsider* criticizing Jewish *insiders*.⁸²

Similar exegetical presuppositions may be found throughout the Jewish sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls, most notably in the *Peshar Habakkuk*. According to *1QpHab*, the prophets did not fully comprehend the meaning of their prophecies as they wrote them, and their prophecies are only intelligible with the right hermeneutical “key” long after the fact:

And God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen to <to> the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. *Blank* And as for what he says: *Hab* 2:2 “So that /may run/ the one who reads it.” Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets. *Hab* 2:3 For the vision has an appointed time, it will have an end and not fail. *Blank* Its interpretation: the final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say, because the mysteries

78 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 49.

79 On the text-critical issues with this passage, see e.g. François Bovon, *Luke 3* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 306–7; Jason A. Whitlark and Mikeal C. Parsons, “The ‘Seven’ Last Words: A Numerical Motivation for the Insertion of Luke 23:34a,” *NTS* 52, no. 2 (2006), 188–204; and Ryan W. Weber, “Unforgiven: The Textual Problem and Interpretation of Luke 23:34a and Anti-Judaism in the Early Church” (M.A. thesis, Wake Forest University, 2012).

80 Note, however, that Cleopas and his unnamed companion on the road to Emmaus, both of whom Jesus rebukes for their failure to understand Israel's scriptures, are in fact *Jesus-following* Jews!

81 It is worth mentioning here that while Peter acknowledges that the inhabitants of Jerusalem acted in ignorance (Acts 3:17), his speech culminates in a mass “conversion” among his Jewish audience (cf. Acts 4:4). On Luke's reluctance to resort to generalizations of the Jews as a whole, see Robert Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 1987), esp. 133–154; see also Raj Nadella, *Dialogue Not Dogma: Many Voices in the Gospel of Luke* (New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 111ff. On mass conversions of Jews in Acts, see Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 44ff.

82 Indeed, sociological research might suggest precisely the opposite to be true: that Luke's deep familiarity with Israel's scriptures, combined with his criticism of the failure of some Jews to interpret the scriptures adequately, may in fact be indicators that Luke is a sectarian *insider*. See Maxine L. Grossman, “Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and ‘Insider’ Status,” 1–11 in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović (Boston: Brill, 2008).

of God are wonderful. *Hab 2:3b* Though it might tarry, wait for it; it definitely has to come and will not delay. *Blank* Its interpretation concerns the men of truth, those who observe the Law, whose hands will not desert the service of truth when the final age is extended beyond them, because all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established for them in the mysteries of his prudence (*1QpHab VII.1–14*).⁸³

Here, the author of *1QpHab* understands the prophetic text of Habakkuk to correspond with events currently unfolding in the world around him.⁸⁴ Habakkuk, according to the pesharist, did not fully grasp what he was writing, but instead his work required the right interpretation of a later reader to reveal its hidden meaning.⁸⁵ This interpretive move requires a belief that the text is somehow fundamentally open or *incomplete* until one with the right interpretive key comes along to grasp its meaning.

Moreover, this progressive divine revelation of the meaning of scripture is what grounds the very identity of the sectarian community.⁸⁶

83 Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 17.

84 See also 1 Cor 10:1–11, in which Paul interprets various moments from Israel's redemption history as proleptic warnings for those who would eventually experience the end of the age.

85 On the difference between two early and primary forms of Jewish scriptural exegesis, see David Weiss Halivni, *Peshat & Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); more recently, see Mordechai Z. Cohen, "Conceptions of Authorship in Early Jewish Cultures," 81–97 in *The Cambridge Companion of Literary Authorship*, ed. by Ingo Berensmeyer, Gert Buelens, and Marysa Demoor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), esp. 84ff. For the suggestion that Hebrew pesharim reflect familiarity with contemporary Hellenistic commentary, see Pieter B. Hartog, "The Qumran Pesharim and Alexandrian Scholarship: 4Q163/Pesher Isaiah C and Hypomnemata on the *Iliad*," *JAJ* 8, no. 3 (2018), 344–64.

86 On biblical exegesis as a type of communal identity formation, see Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 68 (Boston: Brill, 2007): "The Qumran community, like nearly all segments of Second Temple Judaism, viewed itself as based on a revealed religion. This self-perception was grounded in the belief that *the present community represented the embodiment of biblical Israel, and therefore possessed the true meaning of the revelation at Sinai and all subsequent revelations to Moses and the prophets*," 4, emphasis added. It is important to note that sectarian Jews did not corner the market on the notion that prophecy speaks beyond the prophet's intention and immediate historical context. The Talmud also reveals similar underlying perspectives on the prophetic genre. The following apothegm, for instance, is repeated three times in the Bavli (b. Ber. 34b; b. Shab. 63a; b. San. 99a): "Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba says that Rabbi Yohanan says: In their prophecies with regard to redemption and the end of days, all the prophets prophesied about the messianic era, but with regard to the World-to-Come the reward is not quantifiable, as it states: 'No eye has seen it, God, aside from You ...'" (b. San. 99a [Sefaria]). See also R. Steven Notley,

A significant component of the Qumran community's self-perception is the belief that its members have been given privileged access to divinely-revealed knowledge, concerning both halakah and transcendental existential realities. The progressive attainment of revelation concerning God's plan served simultaneously as cause, effect, and aim of their way of life. Among the community's eschatological beliefs was the idea that history would culminate with perfect knowledge of the law and of God's mysteries.⁸⁷

This movement from ignorance toward the eschatological "perfect knowledge of the law and of God's mysteries" is a recurring theme especially in Acts (e.g., 2:14; 2:23; 2:28 [cf. Ps. 16:11]; 2:36; 4:10; 13:38; 15:17–18; 17:23; 22:14; 28:28), often signaled by some form of the introductory phrase, "Let this be known to you" (τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω).

As still further evidence that Luke may have placed an insider's criticism on the lips of Paul in Acts 13:27, Tzvi Novick sees in Paul's charge against the "residents of Jerusalem and their leaders" a reference to the Jewish lectionary cycle of public Torah readings known as the haṭṭarah, which was designed to leave listeners no excuse for failing to uphold the law.⁸⁸ Novick also argues that this treatment of scripture operates by an apocalyptic worldview, which Novick notes early Christians shared with Jewish sectarians:

The distinctively (quasi-) inculpatory character of Paul's remark in comparison with other instances of the ignorance motif in Luke-Acts becomes fully intelligible when it is put in relationship to contemporary Jewish views on the rationale behind the recitation from the Torah in the synagogue on the Sabbath ... The notion that the reading of the Torah on the

"The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances," 279–311 in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. by Craig Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 280.

87 Shani Tzoref, "Peshar and Periodization," *DSD* 18 (2011), 131–2. Notley, "The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances," 280, has also observed the similarities between Luke's exegesis of Israel's scriptures and that of the Qumran community, highlighting that both the gospels and the Qumran texts reflect a Roman-Era Jewish assumption that the work of the prophets was distinctly eschatological in nature. See also Susan Wendel's review of the secondary literature that firmly establishes this premise in Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 28–33.

88 Tzvi Novick, "Eschatological Ignorance and the Haṭṭarah: On Acts 13:27," *NovT* 54 (2012), 168–175. For a discussion of the role of the haṭṭarah in Second-Temple Judaism, see Naomi G. Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings: Evidence for a Haṭṭarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism* (Boston: Brill, 2007).

Sabbath left law-breakers with no excuse was ... clearly well-established in Hellenistic Jewish circles, non-Christian and Christian alike.⁸⁹

Similarly, Susan Wendel observes the Deuteronomistic Principle (DP) at work in Luke's scriptural interpretation in Acts.⁹⁰ As a literary motif, the DP helps explain the literary cycles found throughout Israel's scriptures depicting "the disobedience of Israel, the warning of Israel through the prophets of the Lord, the rejection and persecution of these prophets, and the consequent punishment when Israel did not heed these warnings."⁹¹ Contrary to other early Christian interpreters like Justin Martyr who employ the DP to explain God's rejection of the Jews *as a whole*, Luke instead crafts his narrative in such a way that one's receptivity to the proclaimed death and resurrection of Jesus the messiah—as revealed through "the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms"—causes Israel to be "sifted" into two categories: the repentant and the unrepentant.⁹²

To add further evidence to Wendel's argument, consider how Luke's narrative treatment of the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem mirrors almost perfectly the literary structure of Psalm 81. Like the Third Gospel (e.g., Luke 1:46–55; 1:67–79), Psalm 81 begins with a shout of praise for the God of Israel, followed by an abbreviated recounting of Israel's salvation history:

Sing gladly to God our strength,
 shout out to the God of Jacob.
 Lift your voices in song and beat the drum,
 the lyre is sweet with the lute.
 Blast the ram's horn on the new moon,
 when the moon starts to wax, for our festival day.
 For it is an ordinance in Israel,
 a rule of the God of Jacob;
 A decree He declared it for Israel,
 when he sallied forth against Egypt's land.⁹³

89 Tzvi Novick, "Eschatological Ignorance," 174.

90 Susan J. Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 188ff. Wendel's analysis distinguishes Luke's use of the DP from Justin Martyr's. See "A Matter of Time" below.

91 Ibid, 188.

92 Curiously, σινιάζω ("to sift") is a hapax legomenon, found only in Luke 22:31, in which, after promising the disciples that they will inherit Christ's coming eschatological kingdom and "sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Jesus tells Peter that "Satan has obtained permission to sift (σινιάσαι) all of you like wheat ..."

93 Trans. by Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible*, Vol. 3 (New York: Norton, 2019), 198–200.

Praise soon yields to rebuke, however, as the voice of God abruptly interjects through the Psalmist's plaudits:

I delivered his shoulder of the burden
 his palms were loosed from the hod.
 From the straits you called and I set you free.
 I answered You from thunder's hiding place.
 I tested you at the waters of Meribah. *selah*
 Hear, O my people, that I may adjure you.
 Israel, if You would but hear Me.
 There shall be among you no foreign god
 and you shall not bow down to an alien god.
 I am the LORD your God
 who brings you up from the land of Egypt.
 Open your mouth wide, that I may fill it.

The psalm concludes, not unlike the ending of Acts, ambiguously, but with a hopeful nod to a future in which all of Israel returns to faithful obedience, and is satisfied by "honey from the rock":

But My people did not heed My voice
 and Israel wanted nothing of Me.
 And I let them follow their heart's willfulness,
 they went by their own counsels.
 If my people would but heed me,
 if Israel would go in My ways,
 in a moment I would humble their enemies,
 and against their foes I would turn My hand.
 Those who hate the LORD would cringe before him,
 and their time of doom would be everlasting.
 And I would feed him the finest wheat,
 and from the rock I would sate him with honey.

In his continuation of biblical narrative, then, Luke thus explains the Jewish division over Jesus's messiahship by shaping his own story after the scriptural theme of Israel's perennial cycles of obduracy and repentance—a literary motif found "in almost all writings that have survived from Palestinian Judaism between 200 BCE and 100 CE."⁹⁴

94 "Diese Tradition ist in fast allen Schriften anzutreffen, die uns zwischen ca. 200 v.Chr. und 100 n.Chr. aus dem palästinensischen Spätjudentum erhalten sind," Steck, *Israel*, 189,

In producing his own “orderly account” (δι’ ἡγήσιν, Luke 1:1) of the “things that have been brought to completion among us,” Luke reveals himself to be in the business of transforming, subverting, and refiguring established traditions⁹⁵—even the Jesus tradition itself⁹⁶—in service to Luke’s own master narrative.⁹⁷ Yet those established traditions nonetheless still exert considerable influence on Luke’s understanding of Jesus’s identity and the history of the earliest Jesus-worshippers. In truth, it cannot be any other way; narrated reality is always mediated by the perspective of the author or speaker. As Robert Brawley notes, “Narrative worlds are necessarily distanced from an alleged ontic reality because they portray their own particular view of reality not as a precise reflection of ontic reality but as authors perceive that it should be or might be in light of their perspectives.”⁹⁸ To illustrate how this principle may be illustrated from Luke’s standpoint, in the following section I would like to draw attention to a narrative/literary element dealing with Luke’s interpretation of Israel’s scriptures.

5 “Echoes of Luke/Acts in Luke/Acts”: An Exegetical Interlude

As a counterproposal to the notion that Luke believed “the Jews” to be too ignorant to understand their own scriptures, and to illustrate Luke’s deft reworking of Israel’s scriptural tradition, in what follows I offer a brief comparison between the Emmaus episode in Luke 24:13–35 and the story of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:26–40. At the conceptual core of each narrative is

trans. by Michael Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew’s Gospel: The Rejected Prophet Motif in Matthaean Redaction*, JSNTSup 68 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 101.

- 95 This fact alone does not mean that Luke could not have been Jewish; as Cameron Boyd-Taylor writes of the Dead Sea Scrolls, “Reworked Pentateuch (4Q364–367) points to a drastic reordering of an authoritative text for the purposes of exegesis. The *Book of Jubilees* offers paraphrases and distillations of familiar stories,” Boyd-Taylor, “An Ear for an Eye—Lay Literacy and the Septuagint,” 127–146 in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Rajja Sollamo*, ed. by Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSupp 126 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 134.
- 96 Consider the way in which Luke reframes his passion narrative to portray Jesus’s crucifixion as a carnivalesque farce, as well as his persistent characterization of Jesus himself as an “innocent man” (ἄκακος, Luke 23:47); Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary*, 15.
- 97 See, e.g., Mallen, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*; Rowe, *World Upside Down*; Brittany E. Wilson, *Unmanly Men: Refigurations of Masculinity in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- 98 Brawley, *Luke*, 3. See also Steve Mason, “Was Josephus a Source for Luke-Acts?” 199–244 in *On Using Sources in Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Early Christian Literature*, ed. by Joseph Verheyden, John S. Kloppenborg, Geert Roskam, and Stefan Schorn, BETL 327 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), esp. 205–10.

Luke's striking theological assertion that "it was necessary" (ἐδεῖ, Luke 24:26)⁹⁹ that the Messiah should suffer and die before entering into his glory—a prophetic claim which, strictly speaking, is *nowhere to be found in Israel's scriptures*. The fruit of this literary comparison, I propose, is that the author of Luke/Acts portrays the apostolic church and its budding mission as *the inheritor of Jesus's peculiar exegesis of Israel's scriptures*, a refiguring of the biblical tradition that allows readers to see God's work in Christ present in the very foundation of Israel's scriptures, "beginning with Moses and all the prophets" (Luke 24:27).¹⁰⁰

Consider the following similarities between the two episodes:

1. Both narratives are set on a road leading away from Jerusalem (Luke 24:13 // Acts 8:26).
2. Both involve perplexed readers or interpreters of recent events.
3. The plot of each story is propelled forward by a series of questions (Luke 24:18, 19, 26, 32 // Acts 8:30, 31, 34, 36).
4. Both feature an enlightened authority who appears as a stranger to help the reader reinterpret the scriptures to understand the messiahship of Jesus (Luke 24:27 // Acts 8:35).
5. Both narratives feature an epiphany in which the perplexed reader/interpreter suddenly apprehends Jesus's messiahship, specifically *in relation to Israel's scriptures* (Luke 24:31–32 // Acts 8:36).
6. Each episode culminates in a "sacramental demonstration":¹⁰¹ The breaking of bread in Luke 24:30, and baptism in Acts 8:36–39.
7. Both passages end with the mysterious disappearance of the enlightened authority (Luke 24:31 // Acts 8:39).¹⁰²

99 On the thematic use of δεῖ in Luke and Acts, see Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History*, BZNW 238 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 157ff. Though the word itself is not technically present in Acts 8:26–40, the eunuch's reading of Isaiah 53 and his subsequent questioning of Philip strongly suggest that Luke's preoccupation with divine necessity—especially regarding Jesus's identity as the suffering Messiah—is once again in view here.

100 "Without citing any one OT text, the last chapter of the Third Gospel reveals, through the voice of the risen Christ, how Christians should use the OT (Luke 24:25, 27, 44–47)," Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 90.

101 Or, to use a less anachronistic phrase, what Lindijer refers to as a "sacred act." See C.H. Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters in the Work of Luke: Luke xxiv 13–35 and Acts viii 26–40," 77–85 in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, Vol. 2, ed. by T. Baarda et al., NovTSup 48 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 79.

102 David Catchpole, *Resurrection People: Studies in the Resurrection Narratives of the Gospels* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2000), 88–98, sees in this element of the Emmaus narrative a parallel to the disappearance of the angel Raphael in Tob 12:20–21. For an extended treatment of Tobit's possible influence on the author of Luke/Acts, see Susan Docherty, "The Reception of Tobit in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature, with Special Reference to Luke-Acts," 81–94 in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. by Bart J. Koet, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

In his classic work on intertextuality in the letters of Paul, Richard Hays suggests that Israel's scriptures were so ingrained in Paul's thought, so constitutive to Paul's very being, that the apostle knowingly or unknowingly infused his epistles with hundreds of subtle allusions to the Jewish scriptures. According to Hays, by tracking down the referents for these literary "echoes," readers gain a fuller understanding of the themes and concepts Paul had in mind as he was writing.¹⁰³ Obviously, however, Hays's work has clear implications far beyond the letters of Paul. Analyzing the phenomenon of allusive echoes in the biblical text, Hays argues, serves a twofold purpose: First, it is valuable simply to point them out, to draw attention to them to see if others are "hearing" the same resonance within the text. Second, and more importantly, critically dissecting these literary echoes may give the reader an occasion to rethink the context and intended effect of the text where an echo occurs. Each echo involves a semantic and hermeneutical distortion of its source, and it is in this refiguration, Hays argues, that new meanings are discovered, and the author's intended effect might be observed.¹⁰⁴

Hays lists several criteria for evaluating the likelihood that a given text echoes another, and also draws distinctions between echoes, allusions, and explicit quotations: "The volume of intertextual echo varies in accordance with the semantic distance between the source and the reflecting surface. Quotation, allusion, and echo may be seen as points along a spectrum of intertextual reference, moving from the explicit to the subliminal."¹⁰⁵ Neither the synchronic nor the diachronic narrative distance between Acts 8 and Luke 24 is very wide. In fact, the distance is quite small. We are dealing with two texts that comprise a literary unity, almost certainly by the same author, and when Luke and Acts are read successively may be said to be just a few pages apart.¹⁰⁶ Semantically, however, the two narratives contain very little that matches up verbatim, which for Hays would increase the distance somewhat. That is, the allusions to Luke 24 recollected in Acts 8 are not explicit and would not qualify as a quotation, yet their obvious thematic closeness might rule them out from being a mere "subliminal echo."¹⁰⁷ Given this observation, I suggest that Acts 8:26–40 may be best described as a *metaleptic recollection* of the Emmaus episode in Luke 24:13–35.

¹⁰³ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁰⁶ I use this image as a heuristic example, rather than to suggest that Luke or Acts were ever read in this way.

¹⁰⁷ James Gibbs also notes the lack of verbal similarity between the two stories. See Gibbs, "Luke 24:13–33 and Acts 8:26–39: The Emmaus Incident and the Eunuch's Baptism as Parallel Stories," *BTF* 7 (1975), 29.

Having now drawn attention to these parallels, it still remains, according to Hays's methodology, to offer a convincing explanation for why the author might have put them there. Several other scholars have noted the echoes of Luke 24 in Acts 8, as well as additional perceived similarities between the two stories that I have not listed here.¹⁰⁸ Yet among these scholars, few have offered suggestions as to the purpose served by this literary idiosyncrasy. Given Luke's meticulous care to show the gentile mission springing organically from—and in full continuity with—Israel's salvation-history, it seems unusual that so few scholars have attempted to understand *why* these two texts contain such strong resonances, or to offer a plausible interpretation of how these parallels fit into Luke's larger diegetic framework.

For Joseph Grassi, the underlying purpose that unites Luke 24 and Acts 8 is the trope of the risen Christ who visits in the form of a stranger. "In the account of Philip the evangelist and the eunuch, it is really the risen Christ who comes to the eunuch through a mysterious stranger, Philip the traveling preacher and apostle. When the eunuch receives him, he receives Christ himself."¹⁰⁹ The intended implication here, according to Grassi, is that early readers of Luke and Acts would have understood that *any* stranger was potentially Christ

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Jacques DuPont, "Le repas d'Emmaüs," *LumVie* 31 (1957), 77–92; Joseph M. Grassi, "Emmaus Revisited (Luke 24:13–35 and Acts 8:26–40)," *CBQ* 26 (1964), 463–67; Joachim Wanke, *Die Emmauserzählung*, ETS 31 (Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 1973); Gibbs, "The Emmaus Incident," identifies a total of 16 correspondences, though in my view several of Gibbs's parallels may be easily combined. For instance, Gibbs lists the travelers on the road being *approached* by the stranger and being *joined* by the stranger as two separate parallels. C.H. Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters," conducted a strong formal analysis of the two texts, organizing the parallels into a horseshoe chiasm with the climax of the first narrative comprising the disciples' arrival at Emmaus, and the climax of the second narrative culminating with the eunuch's arrival at water for baptism. For Lindijer, "arrival" thus becomes the climactic theme of both stories. See also Richard J. Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 112; Étienne Charpentier, "L'officier éthiopien et les disciples d'Emmaüs (Luc 24.13–35)," 197–201 in *La Pâque du Christ, mystère de salut* (Paris: Cerf, 1982); B.P. Robinson, "The Place of the Emmaus Story in Luke-Acts," *NTS* 30 (1984), 481–497; and more recently, F. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations*, LNTS 67 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), esp. 141–44. See also Craig Keener, *Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 1536.

¹⁰⁹ Grassi, "Emmaus Revisited," 465.

incognito.¹¹⁰ Citing Luke 10:16, Grassi says that these two passages serve Luke's overall theme of hospitality and welcoming the stranger.¹¹¹

James Gibbs insightfully discusses the irony of the stories' similarity: "In the Emmaus episode the disciples have knowledge of the recent events, but not of the scriptures, while in the Ethiopian eunuch narrative, the potential convert has knowledge of scripture, but not of the events."¹¹² Yet Gibbs immediately draws from this the theological conclusion that "neither knowledge about Jesus nor knowledge about scripture will bring one to confess, to know, or to have a living relationship with Jesus by itself."¹¹³

C.H. Lindijer observes plot similarities between Luke 24, Acts 8, and the story of Jacob at Bethel in Gen 28, as well as Saul's conversion on the road to Damascus in Acts 9.¹¹⁴ For Lindijer, these parallels may reflect the liturgical practices of early church worship.¹¹⁵ Significantly, however, it is equally plausible that they may be communicating something about a distinctly Lukan interpretation of scripture.¹¹⁶ Ultimately, Lindijer concludes that Acts 8 suggests a kind of *imitatio Christi*: "From the agreement between the two stories, we can also hear: what Jesus did then, now does his follower Philip in a similar way, through the followers his 'cause' goes on."¹¹⁷ This is the extent of his comment,

110 To Grassi's credit, this theme is well-attested in the ancient literature. See Patrick G. Stefan, *The Power of Resurrection: Early Christian Resistance Through the Rise of Disciplinary Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2020), esp. 105–6. It is also worth pointing out, however, that concealment and revelation of divine truth is a recurring motif throughout Luke and Acts (e.g., Luke 2:50; 8:17; 9:43b–45; 18:34; Acts 1:7; 2:16ff.; 5:1ff.; 17:22–23; 19:18f.; 22:14).

111 Grassi, "Emmaus Revisited," 467. On the theme of hospitality in Luke/Acts, see also Joshua W. Jipp, "Divine Visitations and Hospitality in Luke-Acts: An Interpretation of the Malta Episode in Acts 28:1–10," (PhD diss., Emory University, 2012).

112 Gibbs, "The Emmaus Incident," 20.

113 Ibid.

114 Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters." Lindijer qualifies his claim, however: "Yet we cannot say that the story of Jacob has stood model for the story of the men of Emmaus or for both stories dealt with by us. Parallels from other religions may also be adduced, but here too we are under the impression that it is a matter of details, not of the whole series of motifs," (82).

115 "We may ask ourselves how Luke came to creating these series of motifs. We can guess that there was some influence of what regularly took place in the congregations of Luke and his readers. Again and again the congregation met the risen Lord in the Scriptures (the Old Testament), in the interpretation of the Scriptures (which the preachers gave and in them the Lord himself) and in the Lord's Supper and baptism ... But we know too little of the liturgy of the early congregations to get further than suppositions," Lindijer, "Two Creative Encounters," 82.

116 Ibid, 83–4.

117 Ibid, 85.

however, and Lindijer eventually arrives at nearly the same conclusion as that of Grassi, that the ultimate purpose of these parallel narratives is to emphasize the notion that, as one who frequently shows up unexpectedly in the form of a stranger, the potential for meeting Christ is ever-present, whether on the road, at the marketplace, or within the liturgical practices of the *ekklesia*. This is not a bad reading, of course. It does seem strange, however, that Lindijer, Grassi, and others would take this to be Luke's point of focus, rather than the obvious beating heart of both episodes: the exegesis of scripture and the early Jesus-worshippers' authority to (re-)interpret Israel's foundational texts.

F. Scott Spencer perhaps comes the closest to this thesis when he recognizes the interpretation of Israel's scriptures as the "ligament" that ties Acts 8 together with Luke 24.¹¹⁸ Spencer, however, overemphasizes the importance of these parallels for the promotion of the gentile mission in Acts. For Spencer, the purpose served by the Emmaus episode is simply to provide justification for the later mission to the gentiles, rather than to mark a fundamental shift in the way Israel's scriptures are interpreted. Likewise, Raymond Orlett also underscores the hermeneutical shift that takes place near Emmaus: "In both this last chapter of his gospel and in Acts, Luke stresses the fact that one of the great blessings brought by the risen Lord was the proper understanding of the Scriptures. The two disciples later (v.32) express what had been their feelings while Jesus interpreted the scriptures to them, 'Were not our hearts burning within us as he spoke to us along the way, as he opened to us the scriptures?' Thus Jesus provides the first means of coming to a knowledge of who he really is, namely, the proper understanding of Scripture."¹¹⁹ Orlett, however, never mentions Acts 8, or why it might parallel Luke 24 so closely. Kenneth Litwak also gets tantalizingly close to this same conclusion in his discussion of intertextuality in Luke 24.¹²⁰ Like Orlett, Litwak ultimately also fails to bring Acts 8 into conversation with the Emmaus episode.¹²¹

118 Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts*, 144.

119 Raymond Orlett, "An Influence of the Early Liturgy upon the Emmaus Account," *CBQ* 21, no. 2 (1959) 215–16. See also Michal Beth Dinkler, "Interpreting Pedagogical Acts: Acts 8.26–40 and Narrative Reflexivity as Pedagogy," *NTS* 63, no. 3 (2017), 411–27, who also highlights Luke's insistence on the need for an authoritative guide to help readers understand the meaning of scripture.

120 See Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, 136ff.

121 Curiously, Susan Wendel notes how Peter carries on Jesus's authoritative exegesis in his speech at Solomon's Portico in Acts 3; in the very next section of her work, however, Wendel observes literary parallels between the character of Philip in Acts 8 and the Prophet Elijah. See Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 114–15.

As we have seen, *continuity* forms a significant and recurring theme throughout Luke and Acts.¹²² The author is at pains to portray the events of Acts proceeding naturally from the events in the Third Gospel, but he is also very determined to depict, among other things, a seamless continuation between ethnic Israel as God's covenanted people on the one hand, and an increasingly gentile movement of Jesus-worshippers on the other; harmony between the ministries of Jesus, Peter, James, John, and Paul; and continuity between Paul's teachings and Mosaic law. It should come as no surprise, then, that in Acts 8 the author portrays Philip, who may be understood as a metonymical figure for the early church, as continuing Jesus's own peculiar way of reading scripture. I suggest that the *key* that opens these parallels may be discerned in the risen Lord's rhetorical question in Luke 24:26: "Was it not necessary for the anointed one to suffer these things and to enter into his glory?"

As I noted above, the respective plots of these two narratives are propelled largely by the asking and answering of questions.¹²³ Yet Jesus's question in Luke 24:26 strikes a particular chord that reverberates throughout Luke and Acts: The unspoken irony of the query is that the Jewish scriptural tradition contains no such "necessity" of a suffering messiah, Davidic or otherwise.¹²⁴ Thus Fitzmyer writes that "the modern reader will look into vain for the passages in the OT to which the Lucan Christ refers when he speaks of 'what pertained to himself in every part of scripture' (v.27), especially to himself as 'the messiah' who was 'bound to suffer.'"¹²⁵ When the resurrected Christ asks the disciples, "Was it not *necessary* ...?" the real answer is not as obvious as

122 Another intriguing element of continuity between the Emmaus episode and Israel's scriptures, as Bogdan Bucur has pointed out, is the resonance that the phrase "enter into his glory" (εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, 24:26) shares with Luke's transfiguration scene (Luke 9:28–36), Mark's longer ending (ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, Mark 16:12), speculation on the resurrected body in 2 Bar. 49–51, and ultimately with figures from Israel's past like Moses (δεδοξασται ἡ ψὺς τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, Exod 34:29). According to Bucur, these resonances are drawn together in the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* (ca. second century CE), which combines the themes of non-recognition and divine hiddenness, transfiguration, and "invisible" numinous light to depict a kind of spiritual transformation that must take place for mortals to perceive God's activity in the world. See Bogdan G. Bucur, "Blinded by Invisible Light: Revisiting the Emmaus Story (Luke 24, 13–35)," *ETL* 90, no. 4 (2014), 685–707.

123 On Luke's use of interrogatives to heighten dramatic tension in his gospel, see Joshua Paul Smith, "'I Will Also Ask You a Question' (Luke 20:3): The Social and Rhetorical Function of Opposing-Turn Questions in the Gospel of Luke," *BTB* 52, no. 3 (2022), 172–81.

124 Though cf. Jipp, "Luke's Scriptural Suffering Messiah," who finds evidence for a suffering messiah tradition in the Psalms. Doble, "Are These Things So?" believes the roots of this tradition develop from an intertextual reading of the Exodus narrative.

125 Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 1558.

the reader might at first assume. Yet for Luke the rhetorical force of the question obviously implies—perhaps even demands—an answer in the affirmative.

Luke further clarifies the meaning of Jesus's question in Luke 24:44–46, when he returns to the disciples in Jerusalem:

Then he said to them, “These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms must be fulfilled.” Then he expounded the scriptures for them so that they might understand their meaning,¹²⁶ and he said to them, “Thus it is written that the Messiah is to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day.”

Specifically, then, the content of “these things” (ταῦτα, Luke 24:26; cf. 24:13, 21, 48) involves the suffering, death, and resurrection of the Messiah on the third day, according to “the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms.” Yet again, this is not an obvious inference from the scriptures, LXX or otherwise.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Cf. NRSV, “then he *opened their minds* to understand the scriptures ...” (Luke 24:45). Following Matthew Bates, I translate αἱ γραφαί (“the scriptures”) here as the direct object of the verb διήνοιξεν (“he opened”), rather than the noun νοῦν, which can be translated either as “mind” or as the “sense” of a text. So Bates: “[I]t is striking that there are *zero* instances, to the best of my knowledge, in all of antiquity of διανοίγω or the related verb ἀνοίγω with νοῦς as the object prior to the fifth century CE ... In brief, if Luke does indeed take νοῦς as the object of διανοίγω, then Luke’s usage is a singularity prior to the fifth century CE for *no other author attests this idiom*,” Bates, “Closed-Minded Hermeneutics? A Proposed Alternative Translation for Luke 24:45,” *JBL* 129, no. 3 (2010), 547, emphasis original. By contrast, however, see Joshua L. Mann, “What Is Opened in Luke 24:45, the Mind or the Scriptures?” *JBL* 135, no. 4 (2016), 799–806. Bates’s thesis has been confirmed to a large extent by Burton Visotzky, who reveals parallel usages of διανοίγω in Luke with פתח (“to open”) in y. Hag. 22a (77a). The parallels between Luke’s usage and that of the early rabbis lead Visotzky to conclude, “Luke-Acts was composed sometime in the first century, either pre- or post-70 CE; and if not in Judaea, it was written fairly knowledgeably regarding customs and mores in Judaea during the time of Jesus, and then Paul,” Burton L. Visotzky, “Luke 24:45—‘Then He Opened Their Minds to Understand the Scriptures’ (διανοίγω) in Luke 24 and the Rabbinic Use of פתח,” 145–153 in *The Gospels in First-Century Judaea*, ed. by R. Steven Notley and Jeffrey P. Garcia (Boston: Brill, 2016). Visotzky names as a primary influence on his perspective Paul Mandel, “On Patah and the Petihah: A New Investigation,” in *Higayon Le Yona: New Aspects in the Study of Midrash, Aggadah and Piyut in Honor of Professor Yona Fraenkel*, ed. by Yehoshua Levinson, Jacob Elbaum, and Galit Hazan-Rokem (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2006), 49–82, but also notes that Mandel’s essay sadly has never been translated into English from Hebrew.

¹²⁷ Cf., however, J.D. Atkins, “Where Is It Written That the Christ Must Suffer?: An Intertextual Clarification of Luke 24:44–46” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, San Diego, CA, Nov. 25, 2019), who argues convincingly on intertextual grounds that Luke 24:44–46 is dependent upon 4 Macc 18:10–19.

In order for the disciples to affirm Jesus as the suffering Messiah in continuity with Israel's scriptures, it is first necessary that the resurrected Jesus "exposit the scriptures for them" (διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς) for them to acquire a new understanding shaped by a distinctly messianic hermeneutic.

Likewise, there is nothing inherently messianic about the "suffering servant" of Isaiah 53, which Luke cites directly in Acts 8:32–33 (cf. Isa 53:7–8 LXX). Immediately after the citation, and perhaps anticipating the reader's own response, the Ethiopian asks, "About whom does the Prophet say this: about himself or about someone else?" In reply, recalling Luke 24:27, Philip "begins with the scriptures and proclaims to him the good news that is Jesus" (ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης εὐηγγελίσαστο αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Acts 8:35).¹²⁸ These parallels underscore the author's view that Philip carries on Jesus's tradition of "opening the scriptures" to his disciples. In his exposition of Israel's scriptures, Philip thus imitates the Lukan Christ.

The evidence suggests that Luke's own interpretation of Israel's scriptures is intended primarily to persuade his readers of Jesus's messiahship,¹²⁹ a controversial proposition which would have been of little consequence to Roman gentiles in the first century.¹³⁰ As Rick Strelan has observed, Luke's emphatic insistence on Jesus of Nazareth as *Israel's* anointed—even to the point of reshaping the operative logic of biblical prophecy—would have been uninteresting (at best) to a gentile audience.¹³¹ Such an apologetic function would only gain importance among later Christians of the mid-to-late second century like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, yet even then would be construed primarily

128 Note that Acts 8:35 also features an "opening" (ἀνοίξας), though this time it is Philip's mouth that opens as he proclaims the good news.

129 "Social identity in Luke is in some sense christology. The narrative is strong on providing external poles of evaluation of who Jesus is and the role he plays." Brawley, *Luke*, 25.

130 In this respect, Luke's narrative use of what Matthew Novenson calls the "grammar of messianism" differs significantly from that of Paul, who undeniably writes for gentile audiences. On Paul's use of *χριστός* language, see Nils A. Dahl, "The Messiahship of Jesus in Paul," 15–25 in Dahl, *Jesus the Christ: The Historical Origins of Christological Doctrine*, ed. by Donald H. Juel (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); Novenson, "The Jewish Messiahs, the Pauline Christ, and the Gentile Question," *JBL* 128, no. 2 (2009), 357–373; idem, *Christ among the Messiahs: Christ Language in Paul and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and idem, *The Grammar of Messianism*.

131 "The death of the Messiah was of much deeper concern to Jews than to gentiles. If the gospels reveal as much about the communities for whom they were written as they do events in the life of Jesus, then the question of the Messiah's suffering and its relation to the scriptures might well have been crucial in very early Christian communities of which a significant proportion, if not the large majority, were Jews," Rick Strelan, *Luke the Priest: The Authority of the Author of the Third Gospel* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 111.

in terms of philosophically tinged polemic *against* Jewish interpreters, rather than *continuity with* Israel's narrative tradition.

Ultimately, Robert Tannehill best explains what Luke appears to be doing with these allusive echoes.¹³² Although Tannehill never explicitly discusses the similarities between Luke 24 and Acts 8, he does highlight parallels between Luke 24 and another central figure from the early church: Peter—who, like Philip, inherits Jesus's role as an authoritative interpreter of Israel's scriptures. Beginning with his first speech in Acts (1:15ff.), Tannehill says,

Peter is now an interpreter of Scripture and of God's purpose for the church. His insight into Scripture and God's purpose will also be demonstrated in his missionary speeches, but even before the mission begins he is presented as one who knows what 'was necessary' to fulfill Scripture (1:16) and what Scripture indicates to be 'necessary' now (1:20–22). Peter is taking over a major function of the departed Jesus ... The language with which Peter begins his speech in Acts 1:16 echoes the language that Jesus used when he was last presented as Scripture interpreter: 'It was necessary that the Scripture be fulfilled'... The disciples could not understand the scriptural necessity of Jesus's suffering prior to the revelation of the risen Messiah ... Thus we are probably to infer that Peter is either reminding his audience of what Jesus had directly taught them from the Psalms, or is following Jesus's lead in finding references to the events of the passion there.¹³³

To build from Tannehill's argument, I suggest that the subtle hints of Peter's speech in Acts 1 are later highlighted in technicolor by the events of Acts 8. By this single metaleptic linkage, Luke reveals his concern with Israel's scriptures to be both christological and ecclesiological. Yet while the inheritance of Jesus's peculiar hermeneutic by the early church *does* represent an

¹³² Though Tannehill does not address the similarities between Luke 24 and Acts 8, it is nonetheless worth noting that they comprise yet further indication of the narrative unity of Luke/Acts. As James Gibbs asserted in his analysis of these passages, "Even if the two books of Luke and Acts were not written at the same time, they certainly are so carefully related to each other that the study of one in isolation from the other will almost certainly lead to only a limited understanding of either half," Gibbs, "The Emmaus Incident," 30.

¹³³ Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, Vol. 2 (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 20.

interpretative innovation, nonetheless it is *also* firmly rooted in Jewish hermeneutical practice.¹³⁴ As Richard Hays observes,

[A]n important element of [Luke's] narrative art is the way in which Luke's story evokes echoes of Israel's Scripture and thereby leads readers to a complex, intertextually formed perception of his central character. This is the decisive hermeneutical clue given in the final chapter of Luke's Gospel, as Jesus 'opens the Scriptures' to his followers. They had hoped Jesus was 'the one to redeem Israel.' If, as Luke's ironic tale implies, they were wrong to judge that hope disappointed, then the key to understanding *how* he redeems Israel must be found in a renewed scripturally shaped understanding of Jesus as Israel's redeemer.¹³⁵

Luke is thus very keen to show that understanding Jesus to be Israel's messiah requires a shift in the way one reads the scriptures, *without suggesting that those scriptures should be superseded or abandoned altogether*. Furthermore, with Philip's preaching to the Ethiopian eunuch, the author makes clear that the role of scriptural interpretation once held by Jesus is now handed on to his disciples. With Jesus having ascended, it is the nascent community that he founded that becomes the inheritor and authoritative medium of the Lord's peculiar messianic exegesis.¹³⁶

6 A Gentile Proselyte?

There remains still another possibility to entertain: Is it conceivable that Luke was a gentile proselyte to Judaism before his conversion to Christianity? Countless readers of Luke/Acts have shared this hypothetical proposal, dating at least as far back as Jerome.¹³⁷ In his monumental commentary on Acts, Craig

134 "In Luke-Acts, the concept of Jesus as the new Moses, the final prophet predicted in Deuteronomy, is distinctly more conspicuous than in Matthew and Mark ... Right at the beginning [of Acts,] the apostles receive instruction from Jesus for forty days, as Moses had from God." David Daube, "Neglected Nuances of Exposition in Luke-Acts," *ANRW* 25.3:2346–7.

135 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 224, emphasis original.

136 Jervell takes the position that for Luke, Jesus was not so much the *authority* for early Christian interpretation of Israel's scriptures as he is *the one being verified* by these scriptures. See Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 90.

137 E.g., Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Vol. 1 (Zürich: Benziger, 1986), 27; Christopher M. Tuckett, *Luke* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 1996), 63; Jerry L. Ray, *Narrative Irony*

Keener suggests that a gentile may have had the wherewithal to acquire a deep technical knowledge of Jewish scripture following a conversion to Christianity: “We should not underestimate one’s ability to learn Scripture after conversion. For example, I myself acquired all my knowledge of Scripture (though not all my knowledge of Greco-Roman literature) after conversion from my previous condition as a biblically illiterate atheist.”¹³⁸

Broadly speaking, I do not necessarily disagree with Keener’s sentiment. We ought not to dismiss outright the notion that a gentile convert to Christianity could have dedicated the time and effort necessary to produce a literary work like Luke/Acts, whose author’s subtle interpretation and sweeping grasp of Israel’s scriptural narrative we have already discussed. But this claim warrants some further analysis and nuance.¹³⁹ Is it possible to distinguish between a work composed by a lifelong Jew and a work written by a formerly pagan Jewish proselyte? What would have been the functional difference between these categories? It may be fruitful to compare Luke/Acts with other Roman-era texts written by pagan converts to Judaism, but what such texts exist? The primary question I would like to address in this section is the existence or non-existence of sufficiently comparable examples of literature produced by gentile converts, or formerly pagan Jewish “sympathizers.”

There are two points that must be addressed here: First, a distinction must be delineated between the categories of “proselyte” (προσήλυτος) and “god-fearer” (φοβούμενος). I will return to this point in a moment. Second, it is important to reiterate that, as far as Jewishness is concerned, *there was little functional difference* between a former pagan who had fully joined a Jewish community and a born-and-raised ethnic Jew.¹⁴⁰ That being said, however,

in Luke-Acts: The Paradoxical Interaction of Prophetic Fulfillment and Jewish Rejection (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1996); Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50, BECNT* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 6; François Bovon, *Luke*, Vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 8; and John T. Carroll, *Luke: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 2–3.

138 Craig Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 405n24.

139 One may question, for instance, the extent to which Jewish literary and scriptural resources would have been available to a gentile—even a highly educated one—in the first century, compared to the vastly different experience of a modern researcher like Keener, who has access to thousands of library databases at the touch of a button.

140 See, e.g., Gudrun Holtz, “Inclusivism at Qumran,” *DSD* 16, no. 1 (2009), 22–54; Alexander Peterson Douglas, “Torah from Zion: Gentile Conversion and Law Observance in the Septuagint of Isaiah” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2017); and Carmen Palmer, *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Gēr and Mutable Ethnicity*, *STDJ* 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2018). This does not mean, however, that ethnicity played no role whatsoever in Jewish/gentile social distinction. See Caroline Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Denise Kimber Buell, *Why*

there is simply no corroborating evidence to suggest that either proselytes or godfearers ever attained proficiency in Jewish scriptural interpretation or halakhic reasoning.¹⁴¹ Indeed, as Pieter W. van der Horst has shown, evidence of gentile knowledge of the most significant figures of Jewish history is virtually nonexistent before the first century CE, and even then was restricted to a relatively small number of pagan intellectuals writing polemical evaluations of *Christianity*.¹⁴² Drawing from Menahem Stern's survey of writings on Judaism by pagan authors in antiquity, Shaye Cohen has similarly observed that while many gentile writers could possibly summarize a few of the external characteristics of Jewish customs, nonetheless Greek and Latin authors appear to be almost universally ignorant of Jewish particulars like "the *Shema*, the Ten Commandments, prayers, the Sabbath, [and] the synagogue."¹⁴³

In his early third-century rebuttal to Marcion, Tertullian describes the Lukan character of Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1–10) as a gentile proselyte who had passively absorbed bits and pieces of Israel's scriptural tradition:

Now, although Zacchaeus was probably a gentile, he yet from his intercourse with Jews had obtained *a smattering of their scriptures*, and, more than this, had, *without knowing it*, fulfilled the precepts of Isaiah: 'Deal thy bread,' said the prophet, 'to the hungry, and bring the poor that are cast out into thine house.'¹⁴⁴

This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); idem, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); and esp. David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020).

141 On the various Jewish practices adopted by some non-Jews in late antiquity, see Katell Berthelot, "To Convert or Not to Convert: The Appropriation of Jewish Rituals, Customs, and Beliefs by Non-Jews," 493–515 in *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics*, ed. by Valentino Gasparini, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

142 Pieter W. van der Horst, "Did the Gentiles Know Who Abraham Was?" 61–75 in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, ed. by Martin Goodman et al., TBN 13 (Boston: Brill, 2011).

143 Shaye J.D. Cohen, "Common Judaism in Greek and Latin Authors," 69–87 in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. by Fabian E. Udoh, et al. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 72. Also: "Many writers in our corpus know that the Jews have 'laws' or 'customs,' but few mention that the laws are contained in a sacred book, and none associates rest on the Sabbath with study, either of that book or of anything else" (73).

144 Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 4.37 (ANF 3:412, emphasis added).

The author of Luke/Acts, of course, clearly possessed more than “a smattering” of Israel’s scriptures, and we are right to question whether awareness of the scriptural mandate of obligation to the poor in this uniquely Lukan episode belongs to Zacchaeus, or represents the authorial understanding of Luke himself. Similarly, Josephus, in addition to arguing against the circumcision of proselytes (*Vita* 113), acknowledges that Greeks at Antioch were attracted to Judaism and indeed had become Jews only “to a certain degree” (*War* 7.3.3). Even in the early rabbinic period, the formal education of proselytes on matters pertaining to Jewish scripture was kept relatively minimal, typically consisting of “some of the minor and some of the major commandments.”¹⁴⁵ Although it is now generally acknowledged that literacy rates were slightly higher in late antiquity than previously believed,¹⁴⁶ Louis Feldman has argued that most Jewish proselytes were in fact poor and far-removed from the upper echelons of Roman society, with limited access to a classical education; thus many converts were not even literate, let alone well-read intellectuals.¹⁴⁷ Most proselytes, therefore, were converted by oral persuasion rather than extensive traditional study.¹⁴⁸ Yet if there is one thing that confidently may be said about Luke, it is that he was a highly educated textualist.

“If we want to know how to identify ancient Jewish literature,” James Davila has suggested, “the logical first step is to identify verifiably ancient Jewish manuscripts, manuscripts that survive from the Second Temple and Hellenistic periods.”¹⁴⁹ Similarly, I suggest that if we wish to discern a gentile proselyte author behind the text of Luke/Acts, the logical first step is to identify comparable works of biblical interpretation by Luke’s gentile near-contemporaries. The question of whether a pagan proselyte would have possessed the requisite education and exposure to Jewish literature to attain such a thorough knowledge of Israel’s scriptures rests in no small measure on the question of Jewish education in the diaspora, a topic of frustratingly little contemporary research.¹⁵⁰ I am not aware, however, of *any* gentile authors before the sec-

145 See b.Yeb. 47a–b, cited in Louis Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 242, emphasis Feldman’s. With this acknowledgment, we should perhaps also read the Apostolic Decree of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:13–39) in a different register. On Jewish identity in early rabbinic texts, see Sacha Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings* (New York: Brill, 1994).

146 Michael Owen Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2015), 349ff.

147 Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered*, 184–5, 243.

148 Ibid, 251.

149 Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 12.

150 See Tyler A. Stewart, “Jewish *Paideia*: Greek Education in the Letter of Aristeeas and 2 Maccabees,” *JSJ* 48, no. 2 (2017), 182–202.

ond century CE who consciously imitate septuagintal style, and although a surprising number of pagan writings about Jewish scriptures have survived, *no* parallels among these writings suggest anywhere near the level of proficiency with Israel's scriptures that Luke himself demonstrates.¹⁵¹ Indeed, as Louis Feldman has concluded, "There are no statistics as to the actual number of converts to Judaism, nor do we have the memoir of even a single convert, nor do we have any propaganda specifically directed to converts, nor do we know of a single professional missionary."¹⁵² If Luke was a proselyte, therefore, his two-volume saga would be the *only* example from antiquity of a narrative by a formerly pagan convert to Judaism.

On the other hand, we do have a far greater number of extant examples of Jewish authors well-versed in Greek language and literary convention who put these skills to work in service of Israel's scriptural tradition, as Luke does.¹⁵³ Concerning the *Letter of Aristeas* and 2 Maccabees, Tyler Stewart argues, "Both texts explicitly mention education, were composed in Greek, pre-date Philo, and are associated with Alexandria. Analyzing the literary forms of these texts and their engagement with Hellenistic philosophy, poetry, and culture demonstrates that *some Jews readily adopted Greek education to develop their own*

151 "Although Christian writers did not hesitate to adopt pagan criticisms of the Jews as a people, they seem not to have adopted pagan attitudes toward Moses. The reason for this is at least twofold. As one might expect, Christian authors derived their information about Moses directly from Jewish sources rather than indirectly from pagan authors. A more important factor, however, was the direct historical and religious link between Judaism and Christianity. Both struggled over the 'exclusive rights' to the possession and interpretation of the Jewish scriptures and their history. Both claimed the heritage of Israel as their own, and for this reason they often differed fundamentally in their attitude toward Moses. Lysimachus and Quintilian, for example, could reject Moses altogether, whereas Paul (Rom 10:19) and Tertullian (*An Answer to the Jews*, 1–6, 10), while rejecting the validity of the Mosaic law after the coming of the messiah, still accepted Moses as an important figure in the plan of salvation which they, as Christians, regarded as their exclusive inheritance. *No pagan writer could or did affirm this much of Moses*," John G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1972), 16–17, emphasis added. Jewish adoption of Greek genres, by contrast, led to something of a Jewish literary renaissance between the third century BCE and the second century CE. "Jewish authors, once exposed to Greek literary culture, especially through Greek education, began to compose works in genres that they had hitherto not participated in," Sean A. Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors: Negotiating Literary Culture in the Greco-Roman Era* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020), 7.

152 Feldman does concede that this argument is based on circumstantial evidence, albeit a great deal of it. Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered*, 252.

153 See Evans, *Luke and Scripture*, 97; David Flusser, "Lukas 9:51–56—Ein hebräisches Fragment," 165–180 in *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke*, Vol. 1, ed. by William C. Weinrich (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 169.

form of cultural literacy in Greek, a Jewish *paideia*, which was indebted to the language, literary forms, and philosophy of Hellas but was set apart by endorsing the Torah as its foundation text.”¹⁵⁴ In fact, while Jews both in Judea and in the diaspora displayed a remarkable competence in adopting Greco-Roman literary style, this competence rarely—if ever—occurred in the opposite direction.¹⁵⁵

Building from recent work in the field of polysystems theory, Marieke Dhont has carefully analyzed the literary style of early Jewish authors writing in Greek, and discovered that Hellenistic Jewish literature was much more diverse and sophisticated than once assumed:

The LXX Pentateuch set the standard for the acceptability of the use of everyday post-classical Greek to express things Jewish. Subsequent translators and writers would use the Pentateuch as its source of intertextual references. Pentateuchal stories became the source for inspiration for authors such as Eupolemus and Demetrius, who wrote biblical history in a tradition affiliated with the phenomenon of ‘rewritten scripture,’ Ezekiel the Tragedian, who composed a tragedy on Moses based on LXX Exod. 1–15, and the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, who also used the Exodus as a literary source to shape his account.¹⁵⁶

Dhont argues that this proliferation of Jewish literature contributed to the development of a Hellenistic literary culture that promoted Greek language and style while remaining firmly rooted in the Israelite narrative tradition and Jewish customs.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, Lester Grabbe writes of Ezekiel the Tragedian’s work, *The Exodus* (composed around the second century BCE), that the play

is in fact very unusual in the history of drama. What it shows is a Jewish self-confidence in the ancestral tradition but also a thorough knowledge of Greek language and forms, and a willingness to use them to treat a

154 Stewart, “Jewish *Paideia*,” 184, emphasis added. See also Marieke Dhont, “Greek Education and Cultural Identity in Greek-Speaking Judaism: The Jewish-Greek Historiographers,” *JSP* 29, no. 4 (2020), 217–228.

155 For examples of pagan biblical interpretation in antiquity, see John Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*; and John Granger Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, STAC 23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

156 Marieke Dhont, “No Author Is an Island: Jewish-Greek Historiography and the Development of Jewish Literature in the Second Temple Period” (paper presented at “Being Jewish, Writing Greek” Faculty of Classics conference, University of Cambridge, Sep. 6, 2017), 10.

157 *Ibid.*, 11–12.

Jewish subject, presumably for fellow Jews ... who could understand the Greek language and Greek dramatic forms. Ezekiel is thoroughly familiar with Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Homer, and Herodotus, and he is quite competent in metrification. He evidently had a good education in Greek.¹⁵⁸

It is precisely this Hellenistic Jewish literary culture, according to Gregory Sterling, that exerts its subtle influence upon Luke's narrative.¹⁵⁹ More specifically, Sterling has argued that in Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2–53, in which the protomartyr defends himself from charges of “speaking blasphemous words” against Moses, God, the Temple, and the Law (Acts 6:11, 13–14), Luke was likely following the precedent set by earlier Jewish historiographers like Cleodemus Malchus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, and Artapanus, all of whom invoked heroic figures of Israel's past in their writings. The purpose of this recollection of scriptural memory was primarily an apologetic attempt to underscore *the legitimacy of their respective diaspora Jewish communities*.¹⁶⁰ By referencing these Hellenistic Jewish writers, Sterling concludes, Luke analogously desires to legitimate the Christian mission against accusations that it disregards Jewish tradition and the Law of Moses.¹⁶¹ If Sterling's central hypothesis is correct, the author of Luke/Acts—if a Jewish proselyte and Christian convert—displays

158 Lester L. Grabbe, “Jewish Identity and Hellenism in the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek,” 21–32 in *Scripture and Traditions*, ed. by Gail R. O'Day (Boston: Brill, 2008), 23–24. On situating Ezekiel's work within its broader Hellenistic context, see G. Anthony Keddle and Jonathan MacLellan, “Ezekiel's *Exagoge* and the Politics of Hellenistic Theatre: Mosaic Hegemony on a Ptolemaic Model,” *JAJ* 8, no. 2 (2017), 170–187; and Sandra Gambetti, “Some Considerations on Ezekiel's *Exagoge*,” *JAJ* 8, no. 2 (2017), 188–207.

159 Gregory E. Sterling, “Opening the Scriptures: The Legitimation of the Jewish Diaspora and the Early Christian Mission,” 199–225 in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy*, ed. by David P. Moessner (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999).

160 For example, the author of Acts attributes *sophia* to Joseph, a quality never attributed to him by the LXX, but found in the writings of both Philo and Josephus. While Sterling finds this particular piece of evidence “inconclusive,” he is much more convinced by the appearance of schematic parallels between Luke's description of Moses's early life (Acts 7:20–22) and that of Philo (*Moses* 2.1): “It thus appears that there is evidence to think that the author of Acts knew Hellenistic Jewish traditions about the call of Abraham and the Egyptian career of Moses,” Sterling, “Opening the Scriptures,” 210. For a related approach to the Epistle to the Hebrews, see Pamela Eisenbaum, “Heroes and History in Hebrews 11,” 380–96 in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. by Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

161 Sterling, “Opening the Scriptures,” 212ff.

a knowledge of Hellenistic Jewish historiographical convention paralleled in antiquity only by Eusebius.

Rather than a full convert to Judaism, however, Luke instead may have been merely a Jewish “sympathizer,” a “godfearer” (φοβούμενος, e.g. Acts 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26),¹⁶² or “reverencer” (σεβομένος, e.g. Acts 13:50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7),¹⁶³ which Feldman defines as those “who adopted certain Jewish practices without actually converting.”¹⁶⁴ Yet Judith Lieu, defining the φοβούμενοι in terms of the socio-economic and political benefits that one might be afforded in exchange for adopting such an identity, observes that there would have been little incentive for such individuals to jump from marginal curiosity at the “fringes of the synagogue” directly into the fray of the early Christ-worshiping movement:

A moment of cautious reflection, if a critique be allowed at this stage, might suggest that the more extended the demand for the presence of Christian ex-godfearers, the more suspect the argument becomes. Is it inconceivable that gentile converts either failed to follow Paul’s detailed argument or had a quick crash-course in what they needed to know? Indeed, to push the problem a stage further back, *how did the godfearers, hovering on the fringes of the synagogue and not fully integrated into its tradition of study, themselves acquire their understanding of the Greek Scriptures and of the interpretation of them? How long and how faithful a membership would be required for such familiarity?* Neither can we ignore the fact that 1 Peter assumes that his audience have typically left behind them a life of ‘doing what the gentiles like to do, licentiousness, passions, drunkenness, revels, carousing and lawless idolatry’ (4:3), while Paul himself, who notoriously fails to mention the synagogue in his letters, seems to assume that his gentile audience are just that, gentile.¹⁶⁵

These facts alone do not entirely rule out the possibility that Luke was a Jewish proselyte or godfearer. They do, however, significantly narrow the discussion in terms of social and cultural probabilities.¹⁶⁶ We might say that Luke was

¹⁶² A term that appears to be somewhat unique to Luke, although it is occasionally found elsewhere in ancient literature—usually as a descriptor for fully devoted ethnic Jews.

¹⁶³ On the relation of this term to a similar noun claimed by both early Jews and Christians, θεοσέβεια, see Judith Lieu, “The Race of the God-Fearers,” *JTS* 46, no. 2 (1995), 483–501.

¹⁶⁴ Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered*, 298.

¹⁶⁵ Judith M. Lieu, *Neither Jew Nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 54–55, emphasis added.

¹⁶⁶ See also Ross S. Kraemer, “Giving Up the Godfearers,” 169–99 in *Crossing Boundaries in Early Judaism and Christianity: Ambiguities, Complexities, and Half-Forgotten Adversaries*,

perhaps a godfearer, but given the discussion above, such a conclusion—while still technically possible—is nonetheless *extremely unlikely*.¹⁶⁷

Yet the foregoing debate largely ignores the most important voice for our present discussion: Luke himself.¹⁶⁸ As Matthew Thiessen has discovered,

Luke does not collapse the categories of Jew and gentile into each other: people within the early Christian movement retain these aspects of their identities. For Luke, this self-identify means that Jewish believers still allow the law to order and direct their lives. While gentile believers do not need to become Jews, and in fact cannot do so, Luke still believes that they need to reorient their lives in relation to the law (as the Apostolic Decree makes clear) so that they can participate in a diversified unity with Jewish believers. Luke's new community is deeply Israel-centric.¹⁶⁹

ed. by Kimberly B. Stratton and Andrea Lieber (Boston: Brill, 2016). Kraemer proposes jettisoning altogether the category of “godfearer” from scholarly discourse for several reasons, two of which are important for this study: First, ancient references to godfearers—including those in Acts—exhibit virtually no consistency whatsoever, and in fact show that what defined one as a “godfearer” was often irretrievably contextual and contingent. It is precisely this vague “plasticity,” Kraemer argues, that made the term useful in capturing the fluid nature of ancient religious identity. Second, in reviewing the literary sources, Kraemer finds that the term θεοσεβείς rarely—if ever—refers to gentile practitioners of Jewish ritual tradition. Significantly, Kraemer notes that θεοσεβείς, in fact, may have been used by Jews as an *emic* term to designate those who had befriended and supported their community (198). If this is indeed the case, then a linguistic reevaluation of Luke's use of the term is necessary. For an alternative perspective, see Paula Fredriksen, “If It Looks Like a Duck, and It Quacks Like a Duck ...”: On Not Giving Up the Godfearers,” 25–34 in *A Most Reliable Witness: Essays in Honor of Ross Shephard Kraemer*, ed. by S.A. Harvey, et al., BJS 358 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2015).

167 As David Smith has observed with respect to Luke's characterization of the godfearers as pious and morally upright, “How should we account for this feature of Luke-Acts rhetorically? Such a narrow focus on the Judaizing fraction of the gentile world would hardly be relevant for commending Christianity to pagans. It might be a meaningful part of strengthening the faith of gentile Christians drawn from the ranks of the godfearers, but the moral quality of these gentiles is more likely to have been meaningful as part of a rhetorical appeal to Jewish Christians, to whom the gentile mission might have seemed to open the door to the impiety characteristic of the gentile world,” Smith, “The Jewishness of Luke-Acts,” 19.

168 It is worth observing here that Luke also is not consistent in his use of the term; in the so-called parable of the unjust judge (Luke 18:1–8), the judge reflects that he has no fear of God (τὸν Θεὸν οὐ φοβούμεθα, v.4), a condition upon which his ethnicity has no apparent bearing.

169 Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 148.

Luke's conception of Jewish/gentile identity will be discussed in further detail in chapter six, but for now it is sufficient to acknowledge that exceedingly little evidence supports the notion that either a gentile convert to Judaism or a pagan "godfearer" could have developed a technical knowledge of Israel's scriptures to the degree demonstrated by the author of Luke and Acts.

7 A Matter of Time: Luke versus Justin Martyr

One key issue remains to be addressed briefly: We have seen how Luke interprets Israel's scriptures in a way that does not preclude the possibility of his Jewishness, and I have shown that the likelihood is incredibly slim that a gentile convert to Judaism or Christianity could have acquired Luke's mastery of Israel's scriptural tradition. Yet if Luke wrote the Third Gospel and Acts in the early second century, then Justin Martyr's writings—especially his *Dialogue with Trypho*—would be a viable comparandum. More specifically, the question here pertains to a matter of chronology: How much time had passed before gentile converts to Christianity began to attain exegetical proficiency with Israel's scriptural tradition? If the Third Gospel and Acts were written earlier (i.e., closer chronologically to the destruction of the Temple), then it seems the likelihood of Luke being Jewish increases somewhat, while if Luke and Acts were written later (i.e., closer chronologically to the writings of Justin Martyr), the possibility that a gentile could have acquired extensive knowledge of the Jewish scriptures becomes significantly more plausible.

At this point, I have little to add to the ongoing discussion regarding the dating of Luke/Acts.¹⁷⁰ Here again, however, the hermeneutical lens of each author may very well prove to be a determinative factor in this debate.¹⁷¹ To highlight

170 For a remarkably exhaustive review of the relevant literature on Lukan chronology, see Karl L. Armstrong, "A New Plea for an Early Date of Acts," *JGRChJ* 13 (2017), 79–110. For a recent book-length treatment of the chronology of New Testament texts, see Jonathan Bernier, *Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament: The Evidence for Early Composition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2022), esp. 1–69. By contrast, Steve Mason has argued persuasively that Luke may have depended upon Josephus as a source. See Mason, "Was Josephus a Source for Luke-Acts?" 199–244 in *On Using Sources in Graeco-Roman, Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, ed. by Joseph Verheyden, John S. Kloppenborg, Geert Roskam, and Stefan Schorn, BETL 327 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022). If Mason's central thesis is correct, this would set the *terminus post quem* for Luke/Acts to the mid-90s, since Josephus's *Antiquities* can be dated with reasonable precision to 93/94 CE.

171 "Although the conclusions of my study do not depend on ascertaining a particular date for Luke-Acts, and establishing the date of this text has not been my aim, the evidence

their differences, I draw on Susan Wendel's comparative work on scriptural exegesis and communal self-definition in Luke/Acts and Justin Martyr. Among the many differences Wendel discerns between Luke and Justin, two of the most fundamental dissimilarities hinge upon their respective interpretations of the Jewish scriptures and who constitutes "insiders" and "outsiders" to the People of God.

First, Luke and Justin disagree in their comportment toward insiders versus outsiders. While Luke (8:10–15, 19–21) understands "insiders" among the People of God to be those who "hear, understand, and obey the word of God," placing an emphasis on *radical obedience to God's will* as a qualifying criterion of belonging, Justin castigates the Jews as a whole, characterizing them as outsiders to their own God. Jews, according to Justin, "cannot possibly fulfill the role of illuminating others because they remain darkened and ignorant themselves; their inability to recognize Christ as the new covenant and law proves them unfit to know or teach the will of God."¹⁷² Second, with respect to their appropriation of Israel's scriptures, Luke and Justin once again differ significantly.¹⁷³ While Justin attempts to circumvent Jewish tradition entirely by claiming that the pre-existence of Christ reveals Jews to have misunderstood God's aims all along, Luke instead goes to great lengths to illustrate how deeply rooted in Jewish tradition the earliest Christ-worshippers actually were.¹⁷⁴

This latter claim is perhaps best illustrated in the way each author understands a specific saying of Jesus that addresses the relationship between Israel's scriptures and divine revelation. In Luke 10:21–24, Luke sees Jesus primarily as the eschatological *revealer of the Kingdom of God* envisaged long ago by the prophets.¹⁷⁵ Justin (*Dial.* 100.1–2), by contrast, cites the same saying of

that emerges from my comparison of Luke and Justin has important implications for some of the arguments that scholars use to assert that Luke-Acts was written in the second century," Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 22.

¹⁷² Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 184. For more on Justin's attitudes toward Jews and Judaism, see Ben Zion Bokser, "Justin Martyr and the Jews," *JQR* 64, no. 2 (1973), 97–122; and idem, "Justin Martyr and the Jews II," *JQR* 64, no. 3 (1974), 204–211.

¹⁷³ This particular difference between Luke and Justin has often gone unnoticed. "Although numerous studies evaluate the scriptural interpretation of Luke and Justin, scholars rarely explore how their descriptions of the Jewish scriptures and the exegesis of Christ-believers contribute to their articulation of the identity of the Christ-believing community," Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 17.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 124.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 103–4.

Jesus (Luke 10:22 // Matt 11:27) in service to a broader philosophical argument regarding Christ's incarnation and pre-existence.¹⁷⁶ As Wendel concludes:

Whereas Luke uses the Jesus saying to present the proclamation of the kingdom as the focal point of correct understanding, to which the ancient prophets attest, Justin uses the saying to portray the Jewish scriptures as the primary object of revelation, to which the traditions about Jesus attest. In other words, *Luke uses the Jewish scriptures as a lens through which to interpret the story of Jesus while Justin uses the story of Jesus as a lens through which to interpret the Jewish scriptures.*¹⁷⁷

In a word, then, it seems likely that Justin's use of Israel's scriptures is in fact only possible with Luke's interpretation of Israel's scriptures serving as an intermediating predecessor.¹⁷⁸ Simply put, Justin's interpretation of Israel's scriptures, as well as his view of "the Jews" as outsiders among the people of God, represent a later stage of development within the Christian tradition that is altogether absent from Luke's writings.

8 Conclusion

Is it possible to *prove* Luke's Jewishness based upon his interpretation of Israel's scriptures alone? In all likelihood, no. In this chapter, however, I have sought to highlight a few crucial pieces of evidence that demand we shift some of our beginning assumptions when it comes to Luke's reshaping of the narrative tradition: 1) Recent research into the "Parting of the Ways" should strongly dissuade us from *beginning* from the assumption that Luke was a gentile. 2) Luke does not believe—as Sanders, Reuther, and others have alleged—that Jews

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 104–5.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 105–6, emphasis added.

¹⁷⁸ Miriam S. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), also makes the point that the anti-Jewish tendencies of the patristic writers are recognizable because of their later date; their anti-Judaism was intended as an internal pedagogical measure, with theologians fixating on the *symbolic* value of the figure of "the Jew(s)": "The Jewish question was certainly an issue of pressing urgency, but it was not the pressures of a living Judaism that made it so. The patristic writers were preoccupied, rather, with Judaism on a symbolic level, and more specifically, with the internal theological questions raised by the church's supersessionary claims vis-à-vis Judaism, and by its attempts to forge a *via media* between appropriation and rejection of different elements of the Jewish tradition," Taylor, *Anti-Judaism*, 4.

are “too ignorant” to understand their own scriptures. Rather, the author of Luke/Acts employs a literary motif drawn from Israel's own scriptural tradition to help explain the rejection of Jesus's messiahship by *some* Jews. 3) Finally, the general lack of evidence for gentile familiarity with Israel's scriptures in antiquity—even among those with varying degrees of commitment to Jewish tradition—weighs heavily against the proposition that a gentile could have acquired the immense literary and technical knowledge of Israel's scriptures displayed by the author of Luke and Acts. Even when later gentile Christians *do* demonstrate a degree of familiarity with Israel's scriptures, their engagement with the texts nonetheless betray a fundamentally different hermeneutical orientation that seeks to use Israel's scriptures against the Jews *as a whole* within a polemical context.

“Keeping Yourself from These Things, You Will Do Well” (Acts 15:29): Luke and Jewish Law

A judge who accepts bribes suffers capital punishment. He who refuses to a suppliant the aid which he has power to give is accountable to justice. None may appropriate goods which he did not place on deposit, lay hands on any of his neighbor's property, or receive interest. These and many similar regulations are the ties which bind us together.

JOSEPHUS, *Against Apion* 2.27 (206–208), Loeb 377

• • •

St. Luke still stood in very close personal touch with the primitive times; for what Hellene has ever treated the Jewish religion and the Old Testament piety, existing side by side with Christianity, with such tender, indeed to us almost unintelligible, respect as the author shows here and elsewhere in his work!

ADOLF HARNACK, *The Acts of the Apostles*, xxxiv

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Inspired by Morton Smith's 1956 remarks on “normative Judaism,”¹ E.P. Sanders first described what he understood to be the shared elements of a “common Judaism” in his 1992 study, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE*.² Contrary to scholars who adopted the view that no single universally-held belief or

¹ Morton Smith, “Palestinian Judaism in the First Century,” 67–81 in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, ed. by Moshe Davis (New York: Israel Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, 1956).

² E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992). Sanders famously explored the concept of “covenantal nomism” as a shared feature of Second Temple Judaism in Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

practice is attributable to all Jews in antiquity,³ Sanders maintained instead that—within Palestine, at least—there were in fact several points on which “the priests and the people agreed.”⁴ According to Sanders, the singular “Judaism” which arose from this agreement may be described thus:

Jews in general believed that their sacred books were truly Holy Scripture. God gave them the law through Moses, and they were to obey it. The prophets and the other books (‘writings’) were also meant for guidance and instruction. Throughout the empire Jews gathered in houses of prayer on the sabbath to learn God’s way. They worshiped him with prayers and offerings; and they observed holy days, which functioned either to renew their covenant with him, to celebrate great moments of the nation’s past, to mark the seasons of the agricultural year and give thanks for them, or to atone for sin.⁵

To this summary, Sanders also adds that even Jewish communities among the diaspora shared most of these beliefs and practices.⁶ He therefore concludes that an recognizable collective identity known as “Judaism” did exist, even if the term itself functions more or less heuristically to describe what was otherwise a surprisingly heterogeneous culture.

Sanders was not alone in his verdict. Shortly after *Judaism: Practice and Belief* appeared in print, George Carras further observed that the same Jewish

3 Most notably Jacob Neusner, e.g., “Parsing the Rabbinic Canon with the History of an Idea: The Messiah,” in *Formative Judaism: Religious, Historical and Literary Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 173. See also Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 10, *et passim*. By contrast, see John Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 400. The argument for a plurality of “Judaisms” has since fallen out of vogue. cf. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 17ff., who likens the various beliefs and practices of early Judaism to linguistic “dialects.”

4 Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 47.

5 Ibid., 47–8. More recently, see Sanders, *Comparing Judaism and Christianity: Common Judaism, Paul, and the Inner and the Outer in Ancient Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), esp. 31–49.

6 “Most Diaspora Jews were included in this common Judaism. They were loyal to the law and also to the temple, though they could seldom attend its services. They also shared some post-biblical practices, such as attending synagogue,” Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 48. For a critique of Sanders’s concept of *covenantal nomism* that integrates subsequently published manuscripts from Qumran, see Albert Hogeterp, “4QMMT and Paradigms of Second Temple Jewish Nomism” *DSD* 15, no. 3 (2008), 359–79. For a critique of Sanders’ notion of Common Judaism, see Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 1–40.

thematic concerns identified by Sanders are also discernible within Philo's *Hypothetica* and Josephus's *Against Apion*.⁷ Since then, Sanders's hypothesis has gained even further support from analyses of ancient Greek and Roman gentile writers on Jews and Judaism.⁸ Sanders would eventually further refine his summary into four succinct hallmarks:

The vast majority of Jews in the ancient world had these characteristics: (1) they believed in and worshiped the God of Israel; (2) they accepted the Hebrew Bible (often in translation) as revealing his will; (3) consequently they observed most aspects of the Mosaic law; (4) they identified themselves with the history and fate of the Jewish people.⁹

I suggest that Sanders's notion of a first-century "common Judaism" is an effective framing device for reading Luke and Acts from within a Jewish perspective. In addition to serving as a cultural backdrop against which these texts may be read and interpreted, conceptualizing first-century Judaism in terms of its broadly shared features helps the reader to avoid some of the difficulties intrinsic to a so-called "checklist theory of meaning," rightly criticized by linguist Charles Fillmore, in which pursuit of definitional precision leads inevitably to the creation of a set of "necessary and sufficient" characteristics of Judaism which may or may not have been true for all Jews.¹⁰

7 "Many of the traditions used were part of a common Judaism that consisted of a wide variety of Jewish witnesses and influences, which are attributed to different locations within the diaspora; Alexandria and Rome, as well as Palestine. The fact that Josephus writing in Rome and Philo in Alexandria appeal to similar ideas suggests the presence of a common Judaism that was not tied to a single location or to a single synagogue," George Carras, "Dependence or Common Tradition in Philo *Hypothetica* VIII 6.10–7.20 and Josephus *Contra Apionem* 2.190–219," 24–47 in *Studia Philonica Annual* 5 (1993), 47.

8 See Shaye J.D. Cohen, "Common Judaism in Greek and Latin Authors," 69–87 in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. by Fabian E. Udoh, et al. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008). According to Cohen's findings, however, scholars would do well to observe that while pagan Greek and Roman writers *did* occasionally write on Jews and Judaism in a way that highlights characteristics similar to those of Sanders's Common Judaism, these writers did so by something of a *via negativa* rather than by actual knowledge of Jewish belief and practice. The shared customs of common Judaism at the turn of the millennium were, for the most part, a complete mystery to gentile Greeks and Romans. To an exceptional degree, the valuable insight from their writings consists of what they do *not* say about Jews.

9 Sanders, "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps, Differences," 7–43 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, ed. by Timothy H. Lim et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000).

10 See Fillmore, "An Alternative to Checklist Theories of Meaning," *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (1975), 123–31.

By no means am I the first to suggest, however, that Luke and Acts bear remarkable thematic similarities to other Hellenistic Jewish texts.¹¹ Most recently, George Carras has remarked on Luke's characterization of the Apostle Paul that the author of Acts appears to have a strong grasp of the basic tenets of common Judaism, especially when compared with summaries of Jewish belief and practices found in the works of early Jewish writers like Josephus, Philo, and even Pseudo-Phocylides. Beginning with Josephus's summary of the legal and ethical demands of Torah in *Against Apion* 2:190–219, according to Carras,

One can itemize some of the points of common Judaism: Separateness points to the view that Jews were God's chosen people; they shared monotheism and this cut them off to an appreciable degree from other societies; Jewish standards of behavior, especially sexual behavior, distinguished them; most expected some form of life after death; community membership required obedience; the Torah was to be kept as an expression of covenantal membership.¹²

In this chapter, my aim is to affirm and extend Carras's initial observation.¹³ I will analyze Luke's recurring thematic emphasis on the necessity of Torah obedience (including his use of Jewish festivals to frame his narrative), and his altering of the Synoptic tradition to emphasize this concern.¹⁴ More importantly, I will also highlight the ways in which Jewish perceptions about ritual and moral impurity inform the trajectory of Luke's narrative, especially with

11 Most recently, see Samson Uytanlet, *Luke-Acts and Jewish Historiography: A Study on the Theology, Literature, and Ideology of Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2.366 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); and Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History*, BZNW 238 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

12 George P. Carras, "Jewish Sensibilities and the Search for the Jewish Paul—The Lukan Paul Viewed through Josephine Judaism: Interplay with *Apion* 2:190–219," 167–78 in *The Early Reception of Paul the Second Temple Jew: Text, Narrative and Reception History*, ed. by Isaac W. Oliver and Gabriele Boccaccini (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 168–9.

13 Curiously, in a later summary of the elements of common Judaism, Carras excludes the fact that "community membership required obedience," which is one of the most salient themes in Acts.

14 Once again, it should be noted that Luke's special concern for the Law has been offered at least a cursory nod by nearly all modern Luke/Acts scholars, including Henry Cadbury: "It may well be supposed that Luke intended especially to show the legitimacy of Christianity from both the Jewish and the gentile standpoint. For the former we can quote not merely the fulfillments of Scripture, but the conformity of the protagonists' conduct in both volumes to the Jewish law and practices ..." Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1958), 306.

respect to his argument for gentile inclusion among the early followers of the Way.

1 Torah Praxis and *Halakha* in Luke and Acts

From the opening lines of Luke's gospel, faithfulness to the "Law of the Lord" (Luke 2:23, 39) becomes the focal point that drives the epic story of God's redemptive action in human history, the cause of Zechariah's jubilation (Luke 1:68, 72–75).¹⁵ In his brief essay, "The Circumcised Messiah," Jacob Jervell calls attention to a curious feature of the Third Gospel's opening chapters: Luke is the only evangelist to recount explicitly the circumcision and naming of Jesus on the eighth day (Luke 2:21).¹⁶ On the one hand, the fact that Jesus of Nazareth—a first-century Jewish male—would have been circumcised is not especially shocking.¹⁷ What is more difficult to explain, however, is why a supposedly gentile Christian would choose to highlight this event in his narrative account of Jesus's life and ministry, especially if the author assumed that Christ had somehow put an end to Mosaic Law. "We do not expect," Jervell rightly observes, "that Luke intends to emphasize that Jesus is the circumcised Messiah."¹⁸ Thus G.B. Caird, for instance, working from the assumption that Luke was a gentile, identifies the point of confusion for those who believe Luke

15 As Bovon notes, according to Luke, "Salvation history appears not simply out of a void, but from daily living true to the Law"; on the other hand, "it is also ... not set into motion by human obedience. It is the frame, or the foundation, but movement results only through God's Spirit." François Bovon, *Luke 1*, tr. by Christine M. Thomas, Hermeneia Commentary Series (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 96; cf. Green, who claims that fulfillment of Gabriel's annunciation, for example, results from Mary's "obedience to the angel and to the law." Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 141.

16 Jacob Jervell, "The Circumcised Messiah," tr. by Roy A. Harrisville, 138–45 in Jervell, *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 138. Significantly, Luke's gospel is the earliest textual witness to the Jewish practice of circumcising and naming male children on the eighth day following their birth. The next earliest reference outside the New Testament does not appear until ca. the ninth century CE, in a saying attributed to R. Nathaniel in *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 48.7.

17 Intriguingly, however, in every visual artistic depiction of Christ from late antiquity in which Jesus appears naked, he is portrayed with an uncircumcised penis. This is true not only of Christ, but even of Old Testament figures like Isaac and Daniel, as well. See Robert Couzin, "Uncircumcision in Early Christian Art," *J ECS* 26, no. 4 (2018), 601–629, esp. 608ff. While this fact does not serve as evidence of Luke's Jewishness, nonetheless it highlights a tendency among some early gentile Christians to "de-Judaize" popular figures from Israel's scriptures and even from the New Testament.

18 Jervell, "The Circumcised Messiah," 138.

to writing within a non-Jewish context: "Luke can hardly have had a deep personal interest in the details of Jewish ceremonial, and it is therefore remarkable that he should mention no less than five times ... that the observances were carried out according to the Law."¹⁹ It appears that Luke's subsequent interpreters have wrestled with this detail for a very long time. Most early Christian writers attempted to explain Christ's circumcision in Luke by arguing that it eliminated the need for Christians themselves to be circumcised, or otherwise by emphasizing the parallels between Jesus's circumcision "on the eighth day" and the *spiritual* circumcision effectuated by Christ's resurrection "on the eighth day".²⁰ On the contrary, however, it appears to have been the case that Luke's characterization of Zechariah, Elizabeth, Mary, and Joseph as pious and Torah-observant Jews served as exemplars for Luke's earliest readers, many of whom were no doubt familiar—at least by reputation—with the charges leveled against Paul in Acts (e.g. Acts 21:21, 28; 28:17).²¹

Yet the respective circumcisions of John (Luke 1:59) and Jesus (Luke 2:21) are not the only legal requirements to be observed here. Luke goes on to

19 G.B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (New York: Penguin, 1985), 63. According to Jervell, by contrast: "It is significant that Luke is most concerned about the ritual and ceremonial aspects of the law. The law is to him not essentially the moral law, but the mark of distinction between Jews and non-Jews," Jervell, "The Law in Luke-Acts," 137. Jervell's view is supported by the frequent observation by patristic writers that Luke is apparently keenly interested in the Jewish priesthood; this is how Luke's association with the figure of the ox (cf. Rev. 4:7) is traditionally explained.

20 E.g., Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 14.1; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. Luc.*, Hom. 3. Alluding to 1 Cor 9:20, Ambrose (*Exp. Luc.* 2.55) claims that by being circumcised, Christ "placed himself under the law so that he might gain those who were under the law," thus recasting Jesus as a prefigural Paul. Ambrose of Milan, *Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Luke*, tr. by Íde M. Ní Riain (Dublin: Halcyon Press, 2001), 47. Evading the discussion altogether why it might be necessary for Jesus to be circumcised, Epiphanius (*Pan.* 30, 26, 10) goes so far as to blame Jesus's parents: "For [Christ] did not circumcise himself, but was circumcised by men. Children do not circumcise themselves and are not responsible for their own circumcision; their parents are. They are unknowing, innocent babes, and neither do they know what their parents are doing to them," Frank Williams, tr., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book 1 (Sects 1–46)*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Brill, 2009), 155. As Jervell notes, the early manuscript tradition also reveals a number of attempts to clarify and "correct" the text itself. See Jervell, "The Circumcised Messiah," 140.

21 Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis After 70 CE*, 416–17. cf. Craig Blomberg, "The Law in Luke-Acts," *JNT* 22 (1984), 53–80. I find Blomberg's argument that the earliest Jesus followers in Acts continue to observe Jewish practices (including Temple worship) "because the implications of the new covenant dawned on them only over time" altogether unconvincing. Blomberg also too hastily dismisses the extent to which the first two chapters of Luke are programmatic for the rest of Luke's narrative, rather than being more concerned (in Blomberg's view) with the "breaking of the dawn" and looking forward to the "new age" that is inaugurated with the birth of Jesus.

narrate the rite of purification immediately following Jesus's circumcision. Objections to Luke's accuracy with respect to Jewish tradition have been raised concerning his "misunderstanding" of the ritual of purification as detailed in Luke 2:21–24.²² Isaac Oliver has suggested that "nowhere else do the presuppositions concerning Luke's gentile background govern so strongly the interpretation of his writings."²³ This misunderstanding rests in part upon the presupposition that according to the law governing impurity incurred during childbirth as specified in Lev 12, only the *mother* is subject to the rite of purification following the birth of a child (i.e. "until the days of *her purification* [καθάρσεως αὐτῆς] are completed" LXX Lev 12:4), whereas Luke suggests that both mother *and child* undergo purification (i.e. "when the time came for *their purification* [καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν]," Luke 2:22).²⁴ As Matthew Thiessen has shown, however, Luke actually displays an understanding of parturient impurity that is presupposed by both *Jubilees* and 4Q265, two unmistakably Jewish texts of the Second-Temple period.²⁵ Thiessen notes that impurity incurred during childbirth is likened to the impurity of a menstruant (cf. LXX Lev 12:2); if it is possible for ritual impurity to spread to a man via sexual contact with a woman's menstrual blood, then likewise we should expect a newborn to be

22 E.g., I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 116; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1979), 448ff; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke 1–IX*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 420ff; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age: A Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 62; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 54; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 141–2; Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 99; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Luke*, PCNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 54–5.

23 Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 410.

24 Or perhaps both *parents* (i.e., Mary and Joseph), since the referent of the αὐτῶν here is ambiguous. So Raymond Brown: "Imprecisely, Luke seems to think that both parents needed to be purified, that the child needed to be brought to Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord, and that the offering of two young pigeons was related to the presentation." Brown credits Luke's misunderstanding of Jewish law to his gentile background: The presence of these "minor confusions," Brown claims, "mitigates against the supposition that Luke got the birth story from Mary. Mary would have known the customs; Luke, a gentile convert (and perhaps a proselyte to Judaism), would have only a book knowledge of them," Brown, "The Presentation of Jesus (Luke 2:22–40)," *Worship* 51 (1977), 2–11 (3–4), emphasis added. Origen, however, apparently understood αὐτῶν to refer to Mary and Jesus, rather than Mary and Joseph (*Hom. Luc.* 14.3–5). For an expanded list of scholars who take Jesus's presentation in the Temple as evidence of Luke's ignorance of Jewish custom, see Matthew Thiessen, "Luke 2:22, Leviticus 12, and Parturient Impurity," *NovT* 54, no. 1 (2012), 17n2.

25 See also Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 417ff.

analogously impure.²⁶ While it must be acknowledged that not all Jews during this time believed newborn infants to incur ritual impurity from their mothers (e.g. 4Q266 6 II 10–11), *Jubilees* and 4Q265 each contain narratives that assume this to be the case. The conclusion that follows from Thiessen's observation is that, according to Luke, bringing the newborn Jesus within the Temple precincts would have risked contaminating the Temple itself.²⁷

Like *Jubilees* and 4Q265, but in contrast to Leviticus, Luke explicitly portrays the entrance of the newborn Jesus into sacred space when his parents present him to the Lord (i.e., at the Jerusalem Temple). While the priestly writer of Leviticus did not need to address the purity status of the newborn, Luke is compelled to do so in order to portray Jesus in the temple precincts. Luke's infancy narrative stresses the law observance of Jesus's family (cf. 1:6, 9; 2:22–24, 27, 41–42); if he is not careful, he might implicate the infant Jesus in bringing ritual impurity into the sanctum.²⁸

If Luke was operating under this belief when he composed his infancy narrative, Thiessen notes, "one could argue that Luke's views on childbirth impurity coincide with some of the stricter halakhic rulings on childbirth impurity in Second-Temple Judaism."²⁹ Luke therefore "goes beyond the written instruction of Leviticus 12, displaying a deeply knowledgeable understanding of

26 Thiessen, "Parturient Impurity," 23.

27 "Since Luke is set on presenting Jesus in the temple, he cannot do so before the days of impurity of *both* the mother and the infant are over. Otherwise, Luke would run the risk of implying that Jesus and his family defiled the temple of Jerusalem by entering therein before the days of purification had been completed. Thankfully, Luke was sufficiently familiar with all of these halakhic intricacies to save himself from such embarrassment," Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 421. It should be noted here that critics (e.g. Raymond Brown) have taken issue with two different aspects of Luke's treatment of Mosaic Law in Luke 2:22–24; while the alleged "problem" of parturient impurity has been thoroughly resolved by both Thiessen and Oliver, the remaining criticism is that Luke makes no mention of the five shekels to be paid for the purpose of "redeeming" the firstborn from service to the Temple (Num 18:15–16). While Luke's silence on the matter of payment to the Temple does not constitute evidence of his non-Jewishness, Oliver has offered a convincing argument for why Luke may have omitted this detail—namely, that the author of the Third Gospel suggests that Jesus was *not* in fact redeemed from priestly service: "Luke wishes to portray Jesus as a unique and gifted child (2:47) dedicated and set apart for an important mission, not as any firstborn Jew exempted from fulfilling his priestly service to the God of Israel. In a certain sense, Luke implies that Jesus never really was redeemed from his obligation of carrying out his mission on behalf of Israel (and the nations)," Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 426.

28 Thiessen, "Parturient Impurity," 27–8.

29 *Ibid.*, 28.

impurity, one that comports with the book of *Jubilees* and 4Q265.³⁰ Far from *lacking* familiarity with Jewish custom in a way that betrays his non-Jewishness, Luke in fact appears to have understood Jewish purity rites even better than many contemporary New Testament scholars.

There is further evidence throughout the Third Gospel that Luke has a generally favorable view of priests and Pharisees.³¹ Two of the most beloved parables unique to Luke, the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37) and the Compassionate Father of Two Difficult Sons (Luke 15:11–32), are case studies in halakhic midrash, and in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) a failure to “listen to Moses and the prophets” (Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσιν) is the crux of the transgressive lifestyle that lands the unnamed miser in Hades upon his death (16:29–31).³² From a redaction-critical perspective, it is also revealing that Luke eliminates sections from Mark and Matthew that appear to disparage or countermand the Law (e.g. Mark 7:8; Matt 15:1–3ff).³³ The Lukan Jesus never “declares all foods clean” (cf. Mark 7:19),³⁴ never attempts to

30 Ibid, 29.

31 See Louis W. Ndekha, “Zechariah the Model Priest: Luke and the Characterisation of Ordinary Priests in Luke-Acts,” *TS* 74, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.4916>.

32 On the parable of the Good Samaritan, see Jacob Mann, “Jesus and the Sadducean Priests: Luke 10.25–37,” *JQR* 6, no. 4 (1916), 415–422; Richard Bauckham, “The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan: Jesus’ Parabolic Interpretation of the Law of Moses,” *NTS* 44, no. 4 (1998), 475–489; Thomas Kazen, “The Good Samaritan and the Presumptive Corpse,” 137–150 in *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism*, ConBNT 45 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Matthew Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 112–19. On the parable of the Compassionate Father of Two Difficult Sons, see Bernard S. Jackson, “The Jewish Background to the Prodigal Son: An Unresolved Problem,” 111–150 in *Essays on Halakhah in the New Testament*, JCP 16 (Boston: Brill, 2008). See also Roger David Aus, “The Compassionate Father of Two Difficult Sons (Luke 15:11–32) and Judaic Interpretation of the Ark and 2 Samuel 6,” 241–54 in *Earliest Christianity within the Boundaries of Judaism: Essays in Honor of Bruce Chilton*, ed. by Alan J. Avery Peck, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

33 “Luke in his Gospel avoids any criticism of the law or parts of it by Jesus, a criticism understood as a reinterpretation in Matthew and Mark ... In Luke’s Gospel, every criticism is missing. Jesus did not alter anything; the law is permanently valid,” Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 138–9. Following Jervell, Michael Pettem has similarly concluded that Luke’s excision of Mark 6:45–8:26—the so-called “Great Omission”—reveals Lukan discomfort with criticism of Jewish Law. See Michael Pettem, “Luke’s Great Omission and his View of the Law,” *NTS* 42, no. 1 (1996), 35–54.

34 Cf. Peter’s vision of unclean foods in Acts 10:9ff. Crucially, however, Peter never in fact partakes of the *terefah*, and neither does Luke draw the conclusion for his readers that kashrut standards have been abolished, but instead insists on an allegorical understanding of Peter’s vision: This is not a matter of which *foods* are clean or acceptable, but rather which *people* are acceptable (Acts 10:28). On Peter’s vision making use of a common

distill or summarize the Law (cf. Matt 22:34–40),³⁵ nor does he insist on elevating one command above the rest (cf. Mark 12:28–34).³⁶ In his clever reworking of Mark 10:17–22 in which a *lawyer* sums up the demands of Torah for *Jesus*, Luke is the only evangelist to cite LXX Lev 18:15 regarding the God of Israel's assurance of life to those who follow the Law, and unlike the Apostle Paul he apparently does so entirely approvingly (cf. Rom 10:5ff, Gal 3:11ff).³⁷ Further, while early Christian literature is replete with supersessionist allusions to the rendering obsolete of the "old" by the "new" (e.g. Heb 7:18–19; 8:6–13; 9:11–15; Barn. 16.5–8; Melito, *Peri Pascha* 43),³⁸ this is emphatically *not* the case for Luke, who goes so far as to reconfigure Jesus's parable of the wineskins so that it makes precisely the *opposite* point as its parallels (Mark 2:22; Matt 9:17): "And no one having drunk the old desires the new, for he says, 'The old is better!'" (Luke 5:37–39).³⁹

Jewish apocalyptic motif, see Jason A. Staples, "Rise, Kill, and Eat': Animals as Nations in Early Jewish Visionary Literature and Acts 10," *JSNT* 42, no. 1 (2019), 3–17.

35 It was not unusual in antiquity, however, for Jewish writers to summarize Torah for their audiences. See J. Cornelis de Vos's tripartite taxonomy of Torah summaries in "Summarizing the Jewish Law in Antiquity: Examples from Aristaeas, Philo, and the New Testament," 191–204 in *The Challenge of the Mosaic Torah in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Antti Laato, SCA 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2021). See also Moshe Benovitz, "Your Neighbor Is Like Yourself: A Broad Generalization with Regard to the Torah," 127–46 in *A Holy People: Jewish and Christian Perspectives on Religious Communal Identity*, ed. by Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Similarly, Roger Tomes has encapsulated the treatment of the Law by New Testament writers according to four main principles: "1) The law was given by God; 2) The law has become embodied in a particular culture; 3) Some laws are more important than others; and 4) New circumstances call for new laws and new approaches to law," Tomes, "Educating Gentiles: Explanations of Torah in the New Testament, Philo and Josephus," 208–17 in *Torah in the New Testament*, ed. by Michael Tait and Peter Oakes, LNTS 401 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 208.

36 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 139.

37 Ibid, 150n28.

38 David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), 235.

39 pace Blomberg's observation that "Jesus stresses the newness of the present age and the impossibility of combining old and new," Blomberg, "The Law in Luke-Acts," 58. So also M. Max B. Turner: "The Jesus of Luke's portrait continually subordinates the Sabbath to the demands of his own mission. Jesus's attitude to the law is entirely consistent with this; the law is being fulfilled but simultaneously transcended in his teaching and ministry, which together constitute the inauguration of a new covenant," M. Max B. Turner, "The Sabbath, Sunday, and the Law in Luke/Acts," 99–157 in *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation*, ed. by D.A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 113. In contrast to both Blomberg and Turner, Luke in fact reveals his extreme preference for the "old wine" over the "new".

Luke's thematic concern for the Law continues—and intensifies—in his second volume.⁴⁰ The primary accusation leveled against Stephen is that he and his comrades were guilty of distorting the Law of Moses (Acts 6:11–14), a charge that Luke construes as patently false (v.13). Importantly, Stephen appears to view the Law as an undeniably positive influence on Jewish life (τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν, Acts 7:38). The bulk of Acts, however, serves Luke's apologetic agenda in depicting the Apostle Paul as the consummate doer of Torah.⁴¹ In Acts 26:4, Paul refers to his Jewish upbringing as a βίωσις, or “way of life”: “Indeed, all the *Ioudaioi* know my way of life (βίωσίν) from my youth, from the beginning having been among my nation and also in Jerusalem.”⁴² A hapax legomenon among the writings of the New Testament, βίωσις is found in connection to Jewish custom on just one other

40 A point that is too-seldom discussed regarding the ascension and enthronement of Jesus in Acts is that Elijah—the only biblical figure to ascend into heaven according to Israel's scriptures—is said elsewhere to have been taken up *precisely* on account of his “zealous zeal for the law” (ἐν τῷ ζηλωσάι ζῆλον νόμου, 1 Macc 2:58). R. Steven Notley, “The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances,” 294n57. For more on the ascent of Jesus in Luke/Acts, see David K. Bryan and David W. Pao, eds., *Ascent into Heaven in Luke-Acts: New Explorations of Luke's Narrative Hinge* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016). On Elijah typology in Luke/Acts, see J.D. Dubois, “La figure d'Élie dans la perspective Lucanienne,” *RHPR* 53 (1973), 155–76; Thomas L. Brodie, “Luke-Acts as an Imitation and Emulation of the Elijah-Elisha Narrative,” 78–85 in *New Views on Luke and Acts*, ed. by Earl Richard (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990); John Poirier, “Jesus as an Elijanic Figure in Luke 4:16–30,” *CBQ* 71, no. 2 (2009), 349–63; and Jeremy Otten, “The Bad Samaritans: The Elijah Motif in Luke 9:51–56,” *JSNT* 42, no. 3 (2020), 375–89.

41 “Acts portrays the gentile missionary Paul as a Jewish Christian who is utterly loyal to the law. Or more precisely said, it pictures him as a true Jew, since he believes in Jesus as the messiah in contrast to the Jews who have been hardened, who do not share his faith,” Philipp Vielhauer, “On the ‘Paulinism’ of Acts,” reprinted in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel*, 8. See also Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, esp. 153–83, and Jervell, *The Unknown Paul*, 53–76. For a recent review of the scholarly literature on Luke's portrayal of Paul, see Odile Flichy, “The Paul of Luke: A Survey of Research,” 18–34 in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel*, ed. by David P. Moessner, et al. (New York: T&T Clark, 2012). Even John Chrysostom (*Hom. princ. Act. 4.4*) noted that the Paul of Acts is impeccable in his Torah observance, contrary to the portrait of Paul that we see even in the Apostle's own letters—though Chrysostom explains this fact by arguing paradoxically that Paul observes the law in order to abolish it. Michael Bruce Compton, “Introducing the Acts of the Apostles: A Study of John Chrysostom's ‘On the Beginning of Acts’” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1996), 298ff. For more on Chrysostom's reading of Paul, see Courtney Wilson VanVeller, “Paul's Therapy of the Soul: A New Approach to John Chrysostom and Anti-Judaism” (PhD diss., Boston University, 2015).

42 Contrast ἀναστροφῇν in Gal 1:13.

occasion across the extant literature of the Second-Temple period.⁴³ In lines 7–14 of the prologue to Sirach, the author explains that his grandfather, having been devoted to the public reading of “the Law and the Prophets and the other ancestral books” (τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρῶν βιβλίων) hopes that his book might encourage readers toward “living according to the law” (διὰ τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως).⁴⁴ While later Christian writers like Justin Martyr (e.g. *Dial.* 23–30, 45–47) would argue that Christ rendered the Mosaic Law obsolete and that adherence to Torah cannot make a person just,⁴⁵ Luke vigorously and repeatedly defends Paul from charges of “apostasy from Moses” (ἀποστασίαν ... ἀπὸ Μωυσέως, Acts 21:21).⁴⁶

Most importantly, Luke never insinuates that Christ has in any way nullified the “covenant of circumcision” (διαθήκην περιτομῆς, Acts 7:8).⁴⁷ Stephen’s recrimination of his accusers for being “uncircumcised in heart and ears” (Acts 7:51) scarcely suggests Luke’s disapproval of the ritual. Far from it: as Guido Baltes has recently shown, a very real concern for physical circumcision

43 Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 389; cf. BDAG 177; and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 118.

44 Compare with Luke 16:16, 29, 31; 24:27; 24:44; Acts 13:15, 24:14, 26:22, 28:23.

45 “We [Christians] are positive that the precepts imposed upon you on account of your people’s hardness of heart are in no way conducive to acts of justice and piety,” Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 46.7. Despite Justin’s accusations, however, he apparently does not see Torah observance and Christian belief as *necessarily* mutually exclusive of one another (*Dial.* 47). By contrast, while the author of *Barn.* believes Moses to be a “wise lawgiver” (ἐνομοθέτησεν Μωυσῆς, 10:11), he nonetheless spiritualizes the ritual demands of Torah, urges his readers to abandon the practice of circumcision (9:4ff), abrogates kashrut (10:9), suggests that the sabbath need no longer be kept (15:8–9), and disparages the Temple (16:1ff). For a recent analysis of Justin’s treatment of Jewish Jesus-followers, see Antti Laato, “Jewish Believers in Jesus and the Mosaic Law: The Opinion of Justin Martyr,” 115–42 in *The Challenge of Mosaic Torah in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Antti Laato (Boston: Brill, 2020). On Jewish Torah praxis in Philo and the Epistle of Barnabas, see the conclusion of Julien C.H. Smith, “The ‘Epistle of Barnabas’ and the Two Ways of Teaching Authority,” VC 68, no. 5 (2014), 465–497; and David Lincicum, “Against the Law: The Epistle of Barnabas and Torah Polemic in Early Christianity,” 105–22 in *Law and Lawlessness in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. by David Lincicum et al., WUNT 420 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019). See also William Horbury, “Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr,” 127–61 in Horbury, *Jews and Christians: In Contact and Controversy* (London: T&T Clark International, 2006).

46 Jervell, “The Circumcised Messiah,” 143. It is perhaps also worth noting here that while Justin frames the issue of Torah observance as a question about *justification*, Luke apparently understands the question primarily in terms of *soteriology*.

47 Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, 56ff.

is usually at work behind references to spiritualized circumcision.⁴⁸ Luke seeks especially to dispense with the rumor that Paul encouraged diaspora Jews to forsake Moses and abandon the practice of circumcision (Acts 21:21; cf. 28:21–22). For Luke, the problem posed by “certain individuals from Judea” in Acts 15:1 is not circumcision-as-such, but rather their attempt to hitch circumcision to *soteriology* (οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι, Acts 15:1, 5).⁴⁹

In his review of Isaac Oliver’s *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, Joshua Jipp suggests that Oliver ignores the apparent conundrum that Acts 13:38–39 and 15:10–11 pose for his thesis.⁵⁰ On the contrary, however, Oliver addresses these two texts directly, comparing them with similar expressions found in 2 *Baruch* and 4 *Ezra*.⁵¹ As John Nolland has indicated, it is not at all necessary to read the “yoke” of Acts 15:10 in an entirely negative register. In addition to 2 Bar 41:3–4, an astonishing number of early Jewish writings portray the yoke of the Law not as an oppressive burden, but something gladly taken up in the pursuit of a well-lived and virtuous life.⁵² Taking σωθῆναι as an infinitive of result, Nolland translates 15:11 thus: “But through the grace of the Lord Jesus, we believe (in order) to be saved, and so do they.”⁵³ By this reading, Nolland proposes the

48 See Guido Baltes, “‘Circumcision of the Heart’ in Paul: From a Metaphor of Torah Obedience to a Metaphor of Torah Polemics?” 88–112 in *The Challenge of the Mosaic Torah in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Antti Laato, SCA 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2020). Intriguingly, Baltes finds a wide spectrum of beliefs regarding spiritualized circumcision among early Jewish texts, while early Christian texts generally fall into one of two categories: those who assume the practice is largely benign because Christ has rendered the Law obsolete, and those who polemicize against circumcision as inherently morally deficient or evil. Note that Luke’s understanding of circumcision fits neither of these categories.

49 So John Nolland, “A Fresh Look at Acts 15.10,” *NTS* 27, no. 1 (1980), 105–115: “The Jewish national history demonstrated that there was a characteristic human inability to come up to the law’s expectations, since their history embodied the ambivalence of commitment to the law but failure to keep it (Acts 7.53)—no criticism of the law (cf. Stephen’s λόγοι ζῶντα (7.38)), but a decisive indication that it is not the way of salvation. Viewed as a prospective way of salvation it turns out to be accusing rather than salvific. Generation upon generation of Jews had had the law but had failed to experience salvation. This is not unlike the sentiment attributed to Paul at Acts 13:38 ... In both places the law is considered with respect to its candidature as a means of salvation” (110). Cf., however, Isaac Oliver’s contention that Luke’s soteriology is not fully separable from his ecclesiology; Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 395.

50 Joshua Jipp, review of *Torah Praxis After 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, by Isaac Oliver, *JETS* 58, no. 4 (2015), 838–40.

51 Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 444–47.

52 So Jer 5:5; Sir 6:23–31, 51:26–27; Matt 11:29; Did. 6.2; m. Ber. 2:2, 2:5; m. ’Abot 3:5, 6:6. On “bearing” [βαστάζειν] burdens as “virtuous effort rather than negative toleration,” see Philo, *Worse* 4.9. Nolland, “A Fresh Look,” 114.

53 John Nolland, “A Fresh Look,” 113.

following interpretation of the controversy which precipitates the Jerusalem Council: “[T]he background question at v.10 is, ‘What relevance had the law to your [i.e., the Christian Pharisees’] salvation?’ and the concern is to show that their possession of the law was as irrelevant to their salvation as was Cornelius’ lack of it.”⁵⁴ Similarly, Jervell does not see in these remarks a sudden epiphany that “it is in principle impossible to keep the law,” but instead a rather damning confession that “we, that is, Jews and Christian Jews, have so far not kept the law,” as Luke’s understanding of the Deuteronomic Principle illustrates elsewhere.⁵⁵

Acts 15:10–11 is therefore not a repudiation of the Law, but instead an indictment of the human failure to fulfill one’s obligations to the Law. In short, Jews who are faithful to the Way and remain obedient to Torah comprise “Israel restored,” the true People of God, while the “people for his name” taken from among the gentiles (cf. Acts 15:14) represent an “associate people” who have been saved purely by the grace of the Lord Jesus, who acts on behalf of God to forgive all sinners.⁵⁶ Gentiles, then, are saved *as gentiles*, without first needing to undergo circumcision to receive salvation. Yet what conditions and behaviors (if any) must be avoided to ensure that this “associate people of God” may remain in close fellowship with restored Israel? It is precisely this question that prompts the Jerusalem Council and its subsequent Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:4ff).

2 The Apostolic Decree and Moral Impurity

In their respective treatments of the Law in Luke/Acts, both M. Max B. Turner and Craig Blomberg repeatedly claim that gentiles, in Luke’s view, are no longer bound by the halakhic demands of Torah.⁵⁷ This is a regrettable oversimplification of the issue. If Luke were truly inclined to advocate for the total release

⁵⁴ Ibid, 110.

⁵⁵ Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 151n55.

⁵⁶ Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 143. Luke’s understanding of the relationship between the Law, salvation, and the People of God shares some significant overlap here with what Gabriele Boccaccini has identified as the “three paths to salvation” found in the Apostle Paul’s writings. See Gabriele Boccaccini, *Paul’s Three Paths to Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020).

⁵⁷ See also F. Gerald Downing, “Freedom from the Law in Luke-Acts,” *JSNT* 26 (1986), 49–52; idem, “Law and Custom: Luke-Acts and Late Hellenism,” 148–58 in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of Law in Israel and Early Christianity*, ed. by Barnabas Lindars (Cambridge, UK: James Clarke & Co, 1988); and John H. Elliott, “Household and Meals vs. Temple Purity Replication Patterns in Luke-Acts,” *BTB* 21, no. 3 (1991), 102–8. For Hans

of gentile Jesus-followers from Mosaic Law, one might expect him to endeavor much more persistently than he actually does to explain why the Law is no longer binding on gentile converts to the Way. Instead, Luke never makes any such claim. In his view, rather, the purpose of the Jerusalem Council is to explain why certain parts of the Law are indeed *still binding*.⁵⁸ The empirical result of this “meeting of the minds”—a ruling by the leaders of the Jerusalem *ekklesia* that gentile converts should renounce idols, avoid sexual immorality, and abstain from consuming blood or food that has been strangled—is significant enough for Luke to repeat these circumscriptions three times (Acts 15:20, 15:29, 21:25). Considering its implication for a thematic understanding of Luke’s treatment of the Law, this so-called Apostolic Decree deserves further attention.

In the first century Mediterranean world, communication between Judea and the Jewish diaspora occurred both ways. As Peter Tomson has noted, this correspondence typically centered upon three crucial concerns: “Directed towards Jerusalem were the half-shekel for the Temple service yearly paid by a major part of diaspora Jewry, and the pilgrimage to the Temple was made by many. Conversely, envoys and letters were issued from Palestine for calendar matters, halakhic instruction, and collections.”⁵⁹ This observation corresponds not only with Luke’s account of Paul’s visit to the Jewish leaders in Rome (Acts 28:21),⁶⁰ but also finds support in the place of prominence Luke affords Jewish festival observance in Luke/Acts. Most importantly, however, Tomson’s observation helps to explain the socio-religious warrant for the Apostolic Decree: When halakhic questions arose among Diaspora communities concerning matters of legal interpretation, it was to Jerusalem they turned for guidance. “The halakha,” Tomson concludes, “was a vital element of ancient Judaism, in the diaspora at least as much as in Palestine.”⁶¹

Conzelmann’s assessment of Luke’s grasp of Jewish and Roman law, see Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. by Geoffrey Buswell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 142ff.

58 “Commentaries speak of the gentiles’ liberation from the law. This is not the whole truth. Luke knows of no gentile mission that is free from the law. He knows about a gentile mission without circumcision, not without the law. The apostolic decree enjoins gentiles to keep the law, and they keep that part of the law required for them to live together with Jews. It is not lawful to impose upon gentiles more than Moses himself demanded. It is false to speak of the gentiles as free from the law. The church, on the contrary, delivers the law to the gentiles as *gentiles*,” Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 144, emphasis added.

59 Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 46.

60 “We have neither received letters concerning you from Judea, nor have any of the brothers arriving reported or said anything evil concerning you.”

61 Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 47.

According to Isaac Oliver, the Decree of Acts 15 advances a particular line of halakhic reasoning by drawing upon similar prohibitions found in Lev 17–19, in conjunction with the Noahide covenant in Gen 9.⁶² Since these chapters impose purity regulations on both Israelites as well as foreigners living in the land (προσήλυτος, LXX Lev 18:26), Oliver argues, Lev 17–18 became an obvious source of instruction for navigating the fraught social and religious realities of an ethnically blended *ekklesia*.⁶³ Most importantly, avoidance of the behaviors enumerated in the Decree facilitates table fellowship between Jewish and gentile followers of Jesus. The solution offered by the Council thus “removes the obstacles impeding Jewish-gentile encounters by calling upon gentile followers of Jesus to preserve their newly acquired moral purity while presupposing that Jews willing to eat with gentiles will continue to observe their ancestral customs, including Jewish dietary and purity laws.”⁶⁴

Joshua Jipp cites Oliver’s argument with general approval, but notes that it extends only to three of the four requirements of the decree. According to Jipp, the agreement of the Jerusalem leaders concerning the matter of “sexual immorality” (πορνεία, Acts 15:20, 29) does not fit Oliver’s framing of the situation around the issue of commensality between Jewish and gentile followers of the Way.⁶⁵ What, then, is the reason for including sexual immorality in the list of forbidden behaviors? I suggest that a fuller understanding of ritual and moral impurity during the Second-Temple period will shed light on Luke’s motivations for recounting the details of the Apostolic Decree in the way that he does.

The prevailing explanation of Israel’s purity code is that of Jacob Milgrom, who observed two distinct kinds of impure states delineated in Leviticus: ritual impurity and moral impurity.⁶⁶ *Ritual* impurity consists of three varieties:

62 Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 365–98. See also Holger M. Zellentin, “Gentile Purity Law from the Bible to the Qur’an: The Case of Sexual Purity and Illicit Intercourse,” 115–215 in *The Qur’an’s Reformation of Judaism and Christianity: Return to the Origins*, ed. by Holger M. Zellentin (New York: Routledge, 2019).

63 Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 370.

64 Ibid., 369–70. On the importance of table fellowship between Jews and gentiles in Luke/Acts, esp. pertaining to the Apostolic Decree, see Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71–109.

65 Jipp, review of *Torah Praxis*, 839.

66 Jacob Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray,’” *RB* 83, no. 3 (1976), 390–99. The body of literature on this topic is enormous and still growing. For a helpful summary, see Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 53–58. For a recent exemplary application of Milgrom’s work to the Jesus of the

1) corpse impurity, 2) skin diseases (i.e., *lepra*⁶⁷), and genital discharges of blood or semen. Every source of ritual impurity is the result of natural processes which are integral to human life (childbirth, illness, death, etc.). Ritual impurity is neither sinful nor morally reprehensible, and though it may defile, it typically poses no serious threat to the sanctity of the Temple or the land, and is easily managed through various combinations of ritual bathing, the passing of time, and sacrifice.⁶⁸ By contrast, *moral* impurity is the direct result of *unnatural and immoral human behavior*—that is, תועבה, an “abomination”—and poses a grave and imminent threat to the sanctity of the Temple, the people, and the land.⁶⁹ This “malefic impurity,” as Milgrom describes it, “does not inhere in nature; it is the creation of man. Only man can evict God from his earthly abode and destroy himself.”⁷⁰ The defilement rendered by these “abhorrent things” does not go away with time or ablutions; rather, the only “cure” for moral impurity is either atonement, punishment, or exile:

The effect of the defilement of the land is that all its residents are subject to exile. The sinners and the land are defiled in these traditions in the sense that they have been shamefully degraded, or desecrated. The people are supposed to be holy (Lev 19), but if they sin in these ways, they desecrate their persons and the land upon which they dwell. And the result of this is that God’s blessings are revoked.⁷¹

Finally, and perhaps most critically, according to Milgrom there is no sufficient reason for understanding defilement in a purely metaphorical or figurative sense. For Jews of the Second Temple Period, impurity was perceived to be a very real and dynamic force, “magnetic and malefic to the sphere of the sacred, attacking it not just by direct contact but from a distance.”⁷²

A wide swath of ancient Jewish literature attests that purity customs were commonly observed by priests and non-priests alike, often with subtly different

Synoptic Gospels, see Matthew Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020).

67 I follow Thiessen here in transliterating λεπρός rather than using the more common English rendering of “leprosy.” See *Jesus and the Forces of Death*, 43ff.

68 Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 54.

69 Ibid., 55.

70 Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 399.

71 Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism,” *JJS* 48, no. 1 (1997), 1–16 (5).

72 Jacob Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 399. See also Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality,” 5–6.

emphases that varied from community to community.⁷³ Among the Essenes, for instance, purity was of special concern with respect to the communal meal, denoting the status of the whole community as the eschatological priesthood.⁷⁴ “The idea that the community had to be pure in order to enjoy God’s presence,” Michael Newton has proposed, “was a concept that was taken over from the religion of the Temple. The Temple had always been considered the special dwelling place of God, and God’s continued presence there depended, to a certain extent, on the continual service of the priests who performed their duties in perfect purity.”⁷⁵ Related to this point, however, was a broader ideological trend taking root in the popular imagination: Separated from their homeland, Jews throughout the Mediterranean diaspora had begun to conceptualize the community of the faithful itself as the abode of YHWH—a belief documented at least as early as the Prophet Ezekiel’s rationale for the departure of God’s glory (*kavod*) from the First Temple prior to its destruction in 587 BCE (Ezek 11:14–25, esp. v.16).⁷⁶ Already by the first century BCE, Jewish sectarians

73 See Yonatan Adler, “Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture: The Material Evidence of Ritual Purity Observance in Early Roman Jerusalem Reassessed,” *JAJ* 7 (2016), 228–48; and Eyal Regev, “Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism,” *JSJ* 31, no. 2 (2000), 176–202. Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality,” helpfully compares how ritual and moral impurity were understood by Philo, the Qumranites, and the early Jesus movement. For a survey of the current scholarly conversation surrounding early Jewish purity regulations, see Wil Rogan, “Purity in Early Judaism: Current Issues and Questions,” *CurBR* 16, no. 3 (2018), 309–39.

74 Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 34. On the indwelling of YHWH among the members of the *Yahad* as the eschatological community, see Noah Hacham, “Where Does the Shekinah Dwell? Between the Dead Sea Sect, Diaspora Judaism, Rabbinic Literature, and Christianity,” 399–412 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context* Vol. 1, ed. by Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

75 Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran*, 36.

76 “The overall picture is clear: in different historical contexts, from Babylonia in the late first Temple period to Hellenistic-Roman Egypt and the Judean Desert in the second or first century BCE, Jews assert that God is with them, within their group, and not in His official place—the Temple in Jerusalem,” Noah Hacham, “Where Does the Shekinah Dwell?” 406. By contrast, see Cecilia Wassen, “Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple? Sanctuary Metaphors and Construction of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul’s Letters,” 55–86 in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. by Carl S. Ehrlich, et al., *WUNT* 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 69n65. On this and similarly significant social, cultural, and religious shifts that took place in late antiquity, see Guy G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity*, trans. by Susan Emanuel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

at Qumran understood *themselves* to be the “Holy of Holies,” whose purpose was, among other things, to “atone for the land” (1QS VIII:5–10).⁷⁷

For the Qumranites, at least, this understanding was shaped in part by the belief that the Temple had been morally defiled—indeed, in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, all of Jerusalem is characterized as a “useless city built with blood” (1QpHab x:10). Thus the gradual shift from Judaism as a Temple-centered tradition to a community-centered tradition was already well under way by the time of the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, due in no small part to the sense of social and geographical distance from their homeland that was an established part of the daily life of diaspora Jews. This belief was no less present among the early Christian community (e.g. Eph 2:19–22; 1 Pet 2:5), firmly rooted as it was in Jewish thought and practice. Paul’s letters in particular contain frequent appeals to Jewish purity standards befitting the eschatological community that Paul believes the *ekklesia* to be.⁷⁸

Similarly, the Lukan Jesus proclaims (to a group of Pharisees, no less!) that the Kingdom of God is “in the midst of you” (ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν, Luke 17:21), and, shortly before his execution, Stephen affirms that “the Most High does not dwell in things made by hands” (Acts 7:48), an argument upon which Paul also elaborates in his speech before the Areopagus (Acts 17:24).⁷⁹ On the other hand, a growing body of research in recent decades has shown that Luke’s perspective on the Jerusalem Temple is not as negative as was once commonly

77 The Council of the Yahad, comprising twelve men and three priests, understood its purpose to be the atonement of sin by works of justice and repentance, and thereby ultimately to “preserve faithfulness in the land” (לשמור אמונה בארץ). It is not too difficult to observe similar themes at work in Luke/Acts, particularly the Yahad’s concern for faithfulness, which shares an interesting possible parallel with Luke 18:8.

78 “We are to conclude that Paul, in keeping with the Jewish traditions, viewed sexual immorality as impure and to be avoided within the Church because of the threat that such impurity presented to its sanctity and to God’s presence within the community,” Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 104. On πορνεία as a distinctly gentile sin, see 1 Cor 6:9–11; Rom 1:20–25ff. On πορνεία as a source of impurity, see, e.g., 1 Thess 4:3–7, and Klawans, “Idolatry, Incest, and Impurity: Moral Defilement in Ancient Judaism,” *JSJ* 29, no. 4 (1998), 391–415 (394ff).

79 Note, however, that it is not Stephen’s assertion that “the Most High does not dwell in things made by hands” which leads directly to his stoning, but rather his accusation that his audience had failed to keep the Law. More importantly, if Stephen’s words in Acts 7:48 do in fact constitute a rejection of the Temple, then the accusations which Luke explicitly claims to be baseless (cf. Acts 6:13–14) are in fact essentially true. See Edwin Larsson, “Temple-Criticism and the Jewish Heritage: Some Reflexions on Acts 6–7,” *NTS* 39, no. 3 (1993), 379–95; and Huub van de Sandt, “The Presence and Transcendence of God: An Investigation of Acts 7,44–50 in the Light of the LXX,” *ETL* 80, no. 1 (2004), 30–59.

believed.⁸⁰ The Temple is a central setting throughout Luke/Acts, receiving from its author well over a hundred explicit references, of which only a shockingly small number exhibit any hint of possible criticism or hostility toward the institution. Luke's gospel both begins and ends in the Temple (Luke 1:8ff.; 24:52–53), and this setting also serves as the backdrop for much of Acts. In episodes like the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18:9–14), the idea of the Temple as God's abode is not under indictment. It is simply assumed by everyone—the characters, the author, and the ideal reader—that the Temple is where one goes to pray and to encounter God. Indeed, regular prayer together at the Temple is a recurring theme throughout Luke/Acts (Luke 1:10; Acts 2:46; 3:1; 10:2–3, 30), a point that has not escaped the notice of several recent commentators.⁸¹ Additionally, it cannot be concluded that Luke holds a generally negative view of the priesthood, either, as is illustrated by his positive portrayal of Zechariah,⁸² his characterization of the Twelve as priests and judges of Israel,⁸³ as well as his report that “a great many of the priests”

80 Francis D. Weinert, “Luke, Stephen, and the Temple in Luke-Acts,” *BTB* 17, no. 3 (1987), 88–90; J. Bradley Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age in Luke-Acts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988); Steve Smith, *The Fate of the Jerusalem Temple in Luke-Acts: An Intertextual Approach to Jesus' Laments Over Jerusalem and Stephen's Speech*, LNTS 553 (London: T&T Clark, 2016); Mark S. Kinzer, *Jerusalem Crucified, Jerusalem Risen: The Resurrected Messiah, the Jewish People, and the Land of Promise* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2018); Eyal Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), esp. 153–96; and Mina Monier, *Temple and Empire: The Context of the Temple Piety of Luke-Acts* (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress Academic, 2020).

81 E.g. Dennis Hamm, “The Tamid Service in Luke-Acts: The Cultic Background behind Luke's Theology of Worship (Luke 1:5–25; 18:9–14; 24:50–53; Acts 3:1; 10:30, 30),” *CBQ* 65, no. 2 (2003), 215–31; Geir Otto Holmås, *Prayer and Vindication in Luke-Acts: The Theme of Prayer within the Context of the Legitimizing and Edifying Objective of the Lukan Narrative*, LNTS 433 (London: T&T Clark, 2011); Mark S. Kinzer, “Sacrifice, Prayer, and the Holy Spirit: The Tamid Offering in Luke-Acts,” 463–75 in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. by J. Harold Ellens, et al. (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018); See also Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 165–67; and Steve Walton, “Ὁμοθυμαδὸν in Acts: Co-location, Common Action or ‘Of One Heart and Mind’?” 89–105 in *The New Testament in Its First Century Setting: Essays on Context and Background in Honour of B.W. Winter on His 65th Birthday*, ed. by P.J. Williams et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

82 Louis W. Ndekha, “Zechariah the Model Priest: Luke and the Characterisation of Ordinary Priests in Luke-Acts,” *TS* 74, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.4916>.

83 Cf. Luke 6:1–5; 22:28–30; as well as the parallel between Luke 1:9 and Acts 1:26. On this latter connection between the Jewish priesthood and the casting of lots, see Michael Patrick Barber, “Holy Craps: Lot Casting as a Priestly Rite in Acts 1” (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, CA, November 24, 2019), 1–5. See also Annie Jaubert, “L'élection de Matthias et le tirage au sort,” *SE VI* (Berlin:

(πολὺς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων) became followers of the Way (Acts 6:7).⁸⁴ “Luke simply holds that the best place and way to be close to God is the Temple,” Eyal Regev has recently concluded. “While there is implied criticism of the Temple establishment in his narrative in Luke-Acts, there is no sign of its rejection or posing of alternatives to take its place.”⁸⁵ From this verdict, then, we are better positioned to understand holistically the value of the Apostolic Decree for Luke’s view of the Law, especially as it pertains to his ecclesiology.

Martha Himmelfarb has illustrated how sexual immorality in particular was connected to concern for the purity of the Jerusalem Temple, as well as the Jewish people as a whole, during the Second Temple Period.⁸⁶ According to Himmelfarb, the Priestly (P) and Holiness Code (H) sources behind Leviticus tie the impurities incurred from genital discharges and forbidden sexual relationships to the dual defilement of the Temple (Lev 12:4; 15:31) and the land (Lev 18:24–30; 20:22–24), respectively.⁸⁷ In her analysis of the concept of purity in *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, Himmelfarb notes how the latter extends

Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 274–80. The connection at the Qumran community between the casting of lots and the feast of Pentecost offers some particularly tantalizing options for future Luke/Acts study: “The casting of lots mentioned in fragment 5 of 4Q279 (4QFour Lots) should be interpreted as a casting of lots that established the communal hierarchy into four groups (Priests, Levites, Israelites, Proselytes), and more particularly as instituting an order of precedence among these four groups for the annual renewal of the Covenant (Shavuot),” Francis Schmidt, “*Góral* versus *Payís*: Casting Lots at Qumran and in the Rabbinic Tradition,” 175–85 in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 179.

84 This should not be taken to mean that the priests in Acts 6 have “converted” from Judaism to Christianity and have left their priesthood behind. Presumably, like Paul, they remain faithful to their customary obligations even *after* becoming convinced of Jesus’s messiahship (cf. Acts 22:3; 23:6). It is also noteworthy that even after Ananias orders Paul to be struck (Acts 23:2–5), following a brief moment of initial and defiant shock, Paul shows his continued deference to the Temple cult by apologizing for his ignorance of the fact that Ananias was the high priest, and thus for unknowingly insulting a leader of the people.

85 Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 194.

86 Martha Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 129. On the collapse of the distinction among sectarian groups between impurity and immorality, see Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality.” On the connection between sexual impurity and idolatry, see 1 Cor. 10:7–8; Rev. 2:14, 20; and Klawans, “Idolatry, Incest, and Impurity”. For a treatment of the connection between dietary laws and sexual impurity in early Christian literature, see Moshe Blidstein, *Purity, Community, and Ritual in Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), esp. 185–202.

87 Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah*, 114–15.

these Levitical laws to apply to all of Israel.⁸⁸ Further, according to the *Temple Scroll*, genital discharges potentially compromise the purity of cities outside of Jerusalem (and perhaps even outside the land of Israel, as well):

In matters having to do with sexual relations, the *Temple Scroll* understands impurity as much as P does, as the result of certain physical processes. It does not insist on the defilement to be caused by forbidden sexual relations as H does. On the other hand, it shares H's view of the land as holy; it clearly worries that *the sanctity not only of the temple area but even of ordinary cities* could be compromised by the impurity of genital flows.⁸⁹

The *Temple Scroll* also likens sexual immorality to menstrual impurity, implying that at least some Jews believed improper sexual contact potentially could render entire cities unclean by contagion.⁹⁰ *Jubilees*, by contrast, shows little concern for purity legislation governing permissible sexual contact, but stresses that forbidden sexual relations may defile the sanctuary.⁹¹ The purpose for this, says Himmelfarb, is that *Jubilees* wishes to emphasize the role of Jewish laity as a "kingdom of priests," thus underscoring all Israel's responsibility for ensuring the sanctity of the Temple.⁹² Refraining from obvious and easily avoidable infractions of moral impurity such as consuming blood or engaging in sexual contact with fathers' wives, therefore serves to engage the entire People of God in the holy work typically conferred upon priests alone.⁹³ "If only Jews avoid these sins, [*Jubilees*] implies, they will be acting as befits a priestly people."⁹⁴

Crucially, these acts of moral impurity had the capacity to defile from a distance—that is, *it would not have been necessary for a gentile Christ-worshiper*

88 Ibid, 120. According to Himmelfarb, the *Temple Scroll* accomplishes this extension not by equating Jewish laity with the Temple priests, but by "heightening the intensity of impurity, thus increasing its impact on non-priests," 121.

89 Ibid, 122–3, emphasis added.

90 Ibid, 117.

91 Ibid, 113.

92 Ibid, 129. "The angelic narrator's speech after the incident at Shechem expresses *Jubilees'* understanding of the implications of the observance of the laws of forbidden sexual relations: *violation of these laws has an impact on the people as a whole and defiles the sanctuary*," 127, emphasis added.

93 "In the area of sexual relations, at least, *Jubilees* appears to be using H as [Israel] Knohl suggests the Pharisees did, to provide Jews who are not priests with the opportunity for greater participation in the temple cult, although in this case the participation takes place at a distance," *ibid*, 131.

94 Ibid, 129.

to enter the Temple for their activity to defile it.⁹⁵ As Himmelfarb summarizes, “The *Temple Scroll* makes purity a more relevant category for all Jews and thus narrows the gap between priests and others. *Jubilees*, on the other hand, confers on all Jews the status of priests by claiming that violations of the laws of prohibited sexual relations affect the temple itself. By observing those laws, all Jews assure the purity of the temple; by violating them, they defile the temple.”⁹⁶

It is thus clear that πορνεία constitutes a *moral* defilement which in turn risks defiling the land of Israel, the sanctuary of God, and potentially may result in the expulsion of the People of God from the land of Israel.⁹⁷ Yet the underlying concern for the purity of the Temple in the Apostolic Decree extends even further. Early readers of Acts appear to have been divided on the inclusion of πνικτός (“food that has been strangled”) among the list of forbidden activities, as evidenced by the omission of this section of the decree by the D-text tradition. As Hugh Schonfield noted almost a century ago, the inclusion of πνικτός among the list creates a minor literary puzzle: If πνικτός is the original reading, the awkwardly unbalanced list of four items comprises three food prohibitions and one ethical prohibition. Schonfield rightly observes that if the Bezaean variant is correct, however, all three of the remaining stipulations fall squarely under the category of “ethical” prohibitions.⁹⁸ While Schonfield’s brief study lacks terminological precision with respect to Jewish law, his point is well made. If “things strangled” (τοῦ πνικτοῦ) may be omitted, the three remaining injunctions against idolatry (εἰδώλων), sexual immorality (πορνείας), and avoidance of blood (αἵματος) align surprisingly well with the three principle sins which Jonathan Klawans has identified as morally “abhorrent things” that bring long-lasting defilement upon the people, the land, and the sanctuary.⁹⁹ This tidy threefold prohibition is repeated in various forms throughout the New Testament and early rabbinic literature (Rev. 22:15; m. ’Abot 5:11), and taken together constitute the only three violations for which the rabbinic

95 Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 390–99. So also Klawans: “Moral impurity is a potent force unleashed by sinful behavior that affects the sanctuary even from afar, in its own way,” Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and Temple*, 55.

96 Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah*, 130.

97 Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and Temple*, 55.

98 Hugh J. Schonfield, “Should ‘Things Strangled’ Be Omitted from Acts xv.29?” *ExpTim* 41, no. 3 (1929), 128–29.

99 On the distinction between moral and ritual defilement, see Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 55.

principle of *pikuach nephesh*—i.e., laws that may be transgressed if a life is at stake—does not apply (m. Sanh. 8:7; b. Sanh. 74a).¹⁰⁰

Curiously, A.J.M. Wedderburn has argued on redactional grounds that Acts 15:20 represents Luke's own interpretation of the Council's decision, while the expanded formulation found in the letter (εἰδωλοθύτων, "things sacrificed to idols," Acts 15:29) and in James's recapitulation in 21:25 (εἰδωλόθυτον) likely represent the original "historical" content of the Decree.¹⁰¹ Wedderburn takes *πικτός* in its classical sense, implying a form of cooking like steaming or boiling that would have preserved the blood—and so the life-force—of the animal, likely in the service of demonic sacrifice. This comports with Philo's description (*Spec. Laws* 4.22) of the dietary proclivities of pagans who, inclined toward opulence, consume the flesh of animals that have been strangled and cooked with their blood intact, their life-force thus "entombed" (τυμβεύοντες) within the carcass.¹⁰²

Whether one takes αἵματος here in the general sense of "bloodshed" (e.g. Num 35:33–34) or in "the consuming of blood" (e.g. Lev 17:10ff), however, makes little qualitative difference: At their source, both activities involve a breach of the Law's blanket prohibition against blood.¹⁰³ In Milgrom's understanding, "Man must abstain from blood: human blood must not be shed and animal blood must not be ingested. In the Priestly scale of values, this prohibition actually stands higher than the Ten Commandments. The Decalogue was given solely to Israel, but the blood prohibition was enjoined upon all mankind; it alone is the basis for a viable human society."¹⁰⁴ Thus the debate over the particular *type* of prohibition here, however, seems to me to overlook

100 In addition, note the opinion of R. Ḥanina ben Gamliel (b. Sanh. 59a) that the prohibition of the Noahide covenant in Gen 9:4 pertains specifically to the eating of a limb cut from a living animal. In this sense, it may be said that in its blanket proscription against gentile consumption of blood, the Apostolic Decree in Acts 15 is more stringent than that of the rabbis, which theoretically allows for the consumption of carrion. I am grateful to Isaac Oliver for this observation. Relatedly, see Cana Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law," *RevQ* 16, no. 4 (1995), 621–36.

101 A.J.M. Wedderburn, "The 'Apostolic Decree': Tradition and Redaction," *NovT* 35, no. 4 (1993), 362–89.

102 See also Ps.-Clem. Hom. 7.8.1, which urges readers to avoid the "table of demons" (τραπέζης δαιμόνων, cf. 1 Cor 10:21), a general heading beneath which are subsumed proscriptions against food offered to idols (εἰδωλοθύτων), corpses (νεκρά), animals that have been suffocated (πικτά) or killed by other wild beasts (θηριόλωτα), and blood (αἵματος). On the other hand, it is likely impossible to discern whether this list already assumes knowledge of those items prohibited by the Apostolic Decree.

103 Cf. the Noahide covenant in Gen 9:4–6, which explicitly links human violence to the prohibition against consuming flesh with its blood intact.

104 Milgrom, *Leviticus*, Vol. 1, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 705.

one crucial underlying point regarding the decree: the unspoken reason for its issuance in the first place.¹⁰⁵ Namely, the observance of these stipulations by gentiles 1) safeguards against the defilement of the sanctuary, 2) protects both the land and the people of Israel from moral defilement, and 3) prevents the people from being ejected from the land into exile. Leviticus 18 explicitly draws together the connections between gentile moral impurity and the defilement of the sanctuary, the land, and its people:

For by all these things the nations (τὰ ἔθνη; MT ׀ִיִּגְה) which I am expelling before you were defiled, and the land was defiled, and I repaid their unrighteousness because of it. And the land wearied of those dwelling upon it ... You must not do any of all these abhorrent things, neither the native inhabitant nor the proselyte (προσῆλυτος; MT גֵּר) who has attached himself to you ... so that the land may not become weary of you in your defilement of it, in the same way it wearied of the nations (עָנֵה; MT ׀ִיִּגְה) living in it before you. For anyone who does any of all these abhorrent things, the souls doing them will be utterly destroyed from among their people. (LXX Lev 18:24–29)

Though it must be acknowledged that for Luke the Temple is no place for gentiles,¹⁰⁶ there is little evidence to indicate that gentiles-as-such were believed to render unclean anything or anyone with whom they came into contact.¹⁰⁷ Yet if Jervell is also correct in his characterization of the earliest

¹⁰⁵ Though recently see Aaron White, “Reading Inclusion Backwards: Considering the Apostolic Decree Again in Fresh Context,” *BTB* 48, no. 4 (2018), 202–14. White rightly contextualizes the Decree as a Lukan reading of Lev 17–19 and concludes that the author appropriates this passage as “a blueprint of the life of one eschatological and multi-ethnic church made up of two associate peoples” (203). Though White does briefly hint at the purity concerns that I have highlighted here, nonetheless for White—following Jipp—the overriding purpose in this episode is to stress the Lukan theme of hospitality to the stranger.

¹⁰⁶ Note that no gentiles ever set foot in the Temple precincts. The Lukan Jesus understands at least the *potential* defilement posed by gentile presence in Jerusalem (Luke 21:24, cf. 1 Macc 3:45), and Luke defends Paul from the false charge that he has brought a gentile into the Temple (Acts 21:27–29).

¹⁰⁷ See Oliver’s discussion in *Torah Praxis*, 345ff. M. Ṭehar. 7:6 appears to be the exception that proves the rule. A strong principle of gentile-conveyed *midras* impurity (impurity derived from an object previously touched by a *zav*) does not emerge until the Tosefta, and the Talmudic record almost universally suggests that the ritual impurity of gentiles-as-such was the result of a decree sometime during the tannaitic period. On the assumption of gentile impurity in antiquity, see Klawans, “Notions of Gentile Impurity in Ancient Judaism,” *AJSR* 20, no. 2 (1995), 285–312; and Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*

gentile Christ-worshippers as an “associate People of God”—and I believe he is—then the focus of Acts 15 is not on just *any* gentiles, but crucially on those who have been “grafted” onto Israel, who are now bound by the grace of the Lord Jesus (Acts 15:11) to God’s holy and encovenanted people.

Given the preceding discussion of Luke’s meticulous attention to the Law (perhaps one could even call it *zeal*), there is a strong case to be made that in his account of the Apostolic Decree, Luke conveys his concern for the sanctity of both the land of Israel and especially for the Temple.¹⁰⁸ The Jerusalem Council in no way sought to abrogate Torah observance for Jews, and its purpose was a relatively simple one: Namely, to establish that gentiles are saved *as gentiles*, without first needing to undergo circumcision. Throughout the diaspora, non-Jews who are “turning to God” (Acts 15:19) should keep the four basic requirements of the Apostolic Decree in order to maintain table fellowship with Jewish followers of the Way, and to avoid defiling the Temple, the people, and the land from a distance.¹⁰⁹

Understanding the malignant, invasive, and non-metaphorical character of impurity sheds further light on other key themes in Luke’s narrative. For instance, in addition to prohibitions against idolatry, sexual immorality, and blood, Ezek 18:5–18 also places a number of *economic injustices* under the category of morally defiling acts (LXX: ἀνομίας, MT: הַתּוֹעֲבוֹת), such as unjust gain (πλεονασμός λήμψεται), oppression of the poor and destitute (πτωχόν καὶ πένητα κατεδυνάστευσεν), failure to restore a pledge (ἐνεχυρασμὸν οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν), robbery (ἄρπαγμα), and collecting interest on loans (τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τόκῳ

and *Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. 19–67; On the observance of purity laws by early Christian communities, esp. that of the Ps.-Clem. literature, see Moshe Blidstein, *Purity, Community, and Ritual in Early Christian Literature*, 185ff.

108 Once again, I am not especially concerned here with the question of whether Luke wrote his gospel before or after the destruction of the Temple. On the extreme ends of either side of the current debate, however, see Karl L. Armstrong, *Dating Acts in Its Jewish and Greco-Roman Contexts*, LNTS 637 (New York: T&T Clark, 2021), and Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006). For a recent review of the secondary literature, see Armstrong, “A New Plea for an Early Date of Acts,” *JGRChJ* 13 (2017), 71–110.

109 “In the early Church, as Luke describes it, Jewish believers in Jesus continue to remain faithful to the law, while gentile believers in Jesus abide by the dictates of the Apostolic Decree, which was based on the legislation pertaining to gentiles who resided permanently with Jews. In other words, Luke believes that, even after Jesus’ death and resurrection, two standards of behavior apply within the one community,” Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 140–41.

δῶσει), among others.¹¹⁰ Himmelfarb also notes that the *Temple Scroll* (51:15–18) elevates the legal prohibition against accepting a bribe found in Deut 16:20 to a capital offense, the motivation behind which is the apparent belief that such injustice defiles the Temple.¹¹¹ The avoidance of these abhorrent acts resonates with the Lukan ethos of social and economic justice, God's mercy toward the poor, and the necessity of righteous deeds,¹¹² and aligns startlingly well with the underlying theme of many of Luke's most distinctive narrative episodes.¹¹³ In short, Luke takes seriously Ezekiel's pronouncement that the one who "follows my statutes and is careful to observe my ordinances, acting faithfully—such a one is righteous; he shall surely live, says the LORD God" (Ezek 18:9). To be sure, the sanctity of the Temple, the people, and the land depends on it.

There are further observations to be made regarding Luke's attitude toward Jewish law, but limitations of time and scope preclude a comprehensive survey here.¹¹⁴ Instead, I wish to close this chapter with a brief analysis of a

110 See also Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.17; and Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.27. On the development of the moral concept of usury in the early church, see Thomas Moser, "The Idea of Usury in Patristic Literature," 24–44 in *The Canon in the History of Economics: Critical Essays*, ed. by Michalis Psalidopoulos (New York: Routledge, 2000).

111 "In Deuteronomy, the prohibition of bribery is followed by the exhortation to pursue justice 'that you may thrive and occupy the land that the LORD your God is giving you' (16:20). The *Temple Scroll* offers a similar exhortation to pursue justice in order to flourish in the land (51.15–16) and demands the death penalty for anyone who accepts a bribe (51.17–18). Its claim that accepting a bribe defiles the temple can be understood as an attempt to make explicit what it must have viewed as implicit in Deuteronomy. If pursuing justice allows Israel to 'thrive and occupy the land,' then failing to pursue justice must have negative consequences for the people's relationship to the land," Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah*, 132.

112 "Almsgiving is important for Luke, and only for him among the New Testament writers, as a sign of true adherence to the law (11:41; 12:33; Acts 9:36; 10:2, 4, 31; 24:17)," Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 140.

113 E.g., the Rich Man's failure to assist Lazarus while he himself lives in luxury (Luke 16:19–30); Zacchaeus's repentance and promise to repay those he may have defrauded (Luke 19:1–10); the withholding by Ananias and Sapphira of a portion of the proceeds from the sale of their land (Acts 5:1–11); and the attempt by Simon Magus to purchase the holy spirit (Acts 8:9–24). For an excellent treatment of the Ananias and Sapphira episode similar to what I have proposed here, see Anthony Le Donne, "The Improper Temple Offering of Ananias and Sapphira," *NTS* 59, no. 3 (2013), 346–64.

114 Isaac Oliver's published dissertation alone offers a wealth of information and avenues for further study. For an analysis of Luke's treatment of Sabbath observance, see Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 45–237; David A. Smith, "No Poor Among Them: Sabbath and Jubilee Years in Lukan Social Ethics," *HBT* 40 (2018), 142–65; and Matthew Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), esp. 149–76. On dietary laws, see Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 294–398. On circumcision, see *ibid.*, 410–38; and Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, esp. 111–41. On allusion to corpse impurity in Luke 11:44, see David A. Smith,

seldom-discussed Lukan theme: the depiction of Jewish festival observance in Luke and Acts.

3 Jewish Festival Observance in Luke and Acts

Across the dizzying plurality of beliefs and practices among Jews of the Second Temple period, observance of Jewish festivals—and the social memory they inculcated—served as one of the few unifying features of Jewish religion.¹¹⁵ Tessa Rajak has also observed that diaspora Jews in particular were drawn to the social cohesion that the festivals offered: “The three agricultural and pilgrim festivals—Passover, Sukkoth (Tabernacles), and Shavuot (the Feast of Weeks)—expressed the connection of diaspora Jews with the land and reasserted with the annual cycle the binding significance of the temple.”¹¹⁶ Additionally, an obligatory system of monetary contributions and regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem helped to establish a vast network of Jewish communities throughout the diaspora, providing them with a sense of shared identity and solidarity with their Judean homeland.¹¹⁷ Philo and Josephus both attest that these donations were often carried by “envoys” to Jerusalem at “appointed times,” most likely during pilgrimage festivals (Philo, *Spec.* 1.78; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.9.1; cf. Acts 24:17).¹¹⁸

“Locating Luke amidst the Parting of the Ways,” 10. For an in-depth treatment of Luke’s understanding of the halakhic reasoning behind Luke 15:11–32, see Bernard S. Jackson, “The Jewish Background to the Prodigal Son: An Unresolved Problem,” 111–50 in *Essays on Halakhah in the New Testament*, JCP 16 (Boston: Brill, 2008).

115 Mary B. Spaulding, *Commemorative Identities: Jewish Social Memory and the Johannine Feast of Booths*, LNTS 396 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 42. See also Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 46.

116 Tessa Rajak, “The Jewish Diaspora in Greco-Roman Antiquity,” *Int* 72, no. 2 (2018), 146–162 (151–2). These pilgrimage festivals could also become occasions for violence (cf. Acts 21:17–36.), as Steven Weitzman has shown: “There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the three major festivals, Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot, functioned as rites of social integration in the final centuries of the Second Temple, inspiring pilgrimages, assemblies, the collection of tithes, and other expressions of Jewish solidarity and cooperation. A closer look at the evidence reveals, however, that the festivals were also often the stage for protest, assassinations, riots, even massacres,” Weitzman, “From Feasts into Mourning: The Violence of Early Jewish Festivals,” *JR* 79, no. 4 (1999), 545–65 (546).

117 Jonathan R. Trotter, “Jewish Identity and the Intercommunal Links between Diaspora Jewish Communities in the Second Temple Period,” *JAJ* 12 (2021), 71–93. Curiously, the NT evidence which Trotter marshals in support of his thesis is taken almost entirely from Luke and Acts.

118 *Ibid.*, 79.

Luke appears to have been intimately acquainted with the observance of Jewish festivals—so well acquainted, it seems, that even a moderately attentive reader may easily overlook the fact that Luke bookends each of his narratives with episodes connected to the celebration of Jewish pilgrimage feasts: Passover in the Third Gospel (Luke 2:41–42; 22:7–8), and the Day of Pentecost in Acts (Acts 2:1ff.; 20:16; 21:17ff).¹¹⁹ In this brief section, I would like to draw attention to a neglected area of Luke/Acts studies, focusing specifically on Luke's references to Yom Kippur and Pentecost.

3.1 *Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement)*

According to Lev 16:29–34, the Day of Atonement is to be observed on the tenth day of the seventh month as an “eternal ordinance for you, to make atonement concerning the sons of Israel for all their sins. Once a year you shall do this, just as the Lord instructed to Moses.” Philo (*Spec.* 1:186) describes its observance among first-century Jews thus:

When the third special season has come in the seventh month at the autumnal equinox there is held at its outset the sacred-month-day called trumpet day, of which I have spoken above. On the tenth day is the fast (ἡ νηστεία), which is carefully observed not only by the zealous for piety and holiness but also by those who never act religiously in the rest of their life. For all stand in awe, overcome by the sanctity of the day, and for the moment the worse vie with the better in self-denial and virtue.¹²⁰

The status of Yom Kippur among early Jewish and Christian communities has received long overdue attention in recent years, with Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra leading the scholarly discussion.¹²¹ In particular, Luke's unglossed reference to “the fast” (τὴν νηστείαν) in Acts 27:9 is remarkable for two reasons: First, it is the only New Testament reference to fasting as the shared obligation of Jewish laity on Yom Kippur.¹²² More importantly, however, is the fact that Luke does not bother to explain which “fast” he is referencing, let alone to denigrate it

119 Mark S. Kinzer, “Sacrifice, Prayer, and the Holy Spirit,” 463.

120 Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 1:186 (Colson, LCL).

121 Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, WUNT 163 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); See also Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas, eds., *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, TBN 15 (Boston: Brill, 2012).

122 Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “‘Christians’ Observing ‘Jewish’ Festivals of Autumn,” 53–73 in *The Image of Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, ed. by Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry, WUNT 158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 61.

as something that only Jews ought to observe. This suggests that the author simply takes it for granted as part of his own religious reality. This leads Stökl Ben Ezra to deduce:

I cannot but draw the conclusion that Luke himself and his implied readers observed Yom Kippur. Why else would Luke use a “Jewish calendaric reference for a secular problem”? He clearly presumes that his readers will understand what he is referring to. Furthermore, Luke betrays no negative attitude towards the fast. The term ἡ νηστεία appears without pejorative additions, completely neutral in the context. In the same way, a Jew today would understand a friend saying in late summer that he will return “after the holidays,” as meaning after Sukkot.¹²³

In short, Luke’s mention of Yom Kippur bears the unmistakable sign of an *emic* cultural reference internal to the common Judaism of his day. Needless to say, if Luke wishes to give readers a realistic idea of the chronological setting of this episode, reckoning time according to Jewish holy days would not have been an especially salient way to do so unless both he and his ideal reader were savvy to the tradition.¹²⁴ Lending further support to Stökl Ben Ezra’s case, it appears that later Christian scribes may have been uncomfortable with the ambiguity of Luke’s casual reference: The Peshitta adds the phrase “the fast of the Jews” to clarify Luke’s meaning, and perhaps even to underscore the distinction between Jews (who observe the Day of Atonement) and Christians (who do not).¹²⁵

3.2 *Shavuot (The Day of Pentecost)*

There is something revealing, I think, specifically in what Luke does *not* say, but instead simply assumes that the reader understands. As with his reference to the passing of “the fast” in Acts 27:9, what sort of ancient reader would have encountered Paul’s haste to be in Jerusalem for the Day of Pentecost (τὴν

¹²³ Ibid, 62. While I find Stökl Ben Ezra’s argument for the Yom Kippur observance of Luke and his readers convincing, I am less convinced by his assertion that Luke and his community belonged to the dubious category of “godfearers,” which Stökl Ben Ezra simply takes as a given.

¹²⁴ “Ancient readers *not* acquainted with Jewish parlance would not have been able to translate ‘the fast’ into a specific day on the calendar,” Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Fasting with Jews, Thinking with Scapegoats: Some Remarks on Yom Kippur in Early Judaism and Christianity, in Particular 4Q541, Barnabas 7, Matthew 27 and Acts 27,” 165–87 in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. by Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas, TBN 15 (Boston: Brill, 2012), 171, emphasis original.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 172, emphasis original.

ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, Acts 20:16; cf. 1 Cor 16:8–9) and known exactly to what the author was referring?¹²⁶ “One of the methodologically gravest mistakes” made by Christian New Testament scholars, Stökl Ben Ezra argues, “seems to me to project later Christian calendars onto *all* first and second century Jesus-movements.”¹²⁷ This is especially true of Pentecost, which somewhat confusingly lends its name to both Jewish and Christian calendrical feasts.¹²⁸ Why was Paul “in a hurry, so far as it was possible, to be in Jerusalem”? It is highly unlikely that Pentecost was observed as a regular “Christian” feast day at the time Luke composed Acts. Restrictions concerning the physical posture of Christian prayer from Easter to Pentecost are mentioned in the list of canons issued by the Council of Nicaea in 325.¹²⁹ Before this, however, the first references to Πεντηκοστή as a distinctly Christian feast day are found in the early third-century works of Tertullian (*Bapt.* 19; *Cor.* 3; *Idol.* 14). The most probable reading of this Lukan detail is that the Paul of Acts—who remains a Pharisee long after his initial calling to become the apostle to the gentiles (cf. Acts 23:6)—is eager to return to Jerusalem to participate in the Jewish festival of Shavuot, as did countless other Jews of the Hellenistic diaspora.¹³⁰

According to Philo (*Spec.* 1:183), the Festival of Weeks was “universally celebrated” (δημοτελεστάτη έορτή) among Jews. As Moshe Weinfeld has convincingly shown, however, Pentecost was not *only* celebrated as a harvest festival (cf. Exod 32:22; Deut 16:10);¹³¹ by the Second Temple period, Pentecost had also come to be observed as an annual celebration of the giving of the Torah, and elements of Luke’s depiction of the giving of the Spirit in Acts parallel Second-Temple Jewish retellings of Moses’s reception of the tablets of the Law at Sinai.¹³² Philo’s account of the giving of the Law (*Decal.* 46), for example, contains the following description of fire descending from heaven over Mount Sinai: “Then from the midst of the fire that streamed from heaven there sounded forth to their utter amazement a voice, for the flame became articulate

126 J. Andrew Doole makes a similar observation regarding 1 Cor. 16:8, the only other reference to the Day of Pentecost in the New Testament aside from those in Acts. See Doole, “‘I Have Fought with Wild Beasts ... But I Will Stay until Pentecost’: What (Else) Can 1 Corinthians Teach Us about Ephesus?” *NovT* 60, no. 2 (2018), 140–61.

127 Stökl Ben Ezra, “Fasting with Jews,” 171, emphasis original.

128 No doubt due in large part to subsequent gentile-Christian readings of Acts!

129 Canon 20. *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Decretum, Pars III, De Conc. Dist. III. c. x.

130 See esp. Isaac Oliver’s detailed discussion in *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 108–18.

131 See also Tob 2:1–6; 2 Macc 12:32; Philo, *Decal.* 160, *Spec. Laws* 2.41–42; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.9.6, 13.8.4, 14.13.4, 17.10.2, *War* 1.13.3, 2.3.1, 6:5.3.

132 Moshe Weinfeld, “Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law,” 268–78 in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, LSTS 54 (London: T&T Clark, 2005).

speech in the language familiar to the audience ...”¹³³ Similarly, b. Šabb. 88b remarks that this celestial flame “was divided into seventy tongues.”¹³⁴ Finally, in Luke’s claim that the tongues of fire “rested” on each of the apostles (Acts 2:3), Weinfeld sees a similarity to the crowns placed on the heads of the Israelites by angels at Sinai when the Israelites assent to the covenant (“We will do and we will obey,” b. Šabb. 88a).¹³⁵ If Weinfeld is correct, this means that Luke was very likely aware of the strong connection between the Day of Pentecost and the celebration of the giving of the Law, a connection that he would no doubt wish to emphasize in his apologetic defense of Paul as an upholder of Torah. I disagree with Weinfeld’s thesis, however, in one significant respect—specifically, his claim that in early Christian literature like Acts, Jesus and the early *ekklēsia* “replace” Moses and Israel, respectively.¹³⁶ Luke never uses such language of replacement, either in his gospel or in Acts. As Jervell argued, Luke only knew of one Israel—the historical, though divided, People of God.¹³⁷

The foregoing discussion alone does not establish certainty with respect to the proposed Jewish authorship of Luke/Acts. Nevertheless, the burden of proof should now sit squarely on the shoulders of those who would insist that Luke was a gentile to explain, among other difficulties, why the author of Luke and Acts insists that Jews—including and especially Jewish followers of the Way—must remain Torah-observant, and also how Luke came to possess such nuanced grasp of Jewish legal obligations in the first place. Returning to

133 Cf. Acts 2:1–12. Weinfeld, “Pentecost,” 273–4.

134 Ibid., 274.

135 Ibid., 275.

136 Ibid., 278.

137 “Luke knows only one Israel, one people of God, one covenant,” Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 141. Compare Deut 18:15–18, Acts 3:22–23. Nowhere does Luke say that gentiles will supplant Israel as heirs to the covenantal promises, but instead those who “do not listen” (μὴ ἀκούσῃ) to the prophet will be “completely rooted out of the people” (ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ); compare CD-B XX, 27–34, whose author claims that those who “remain steadfast in these regulations,” who “listen to the Teacher’s voice” (וּשְׁמַעוּ לְקוֹל מוֹרֵה) who acknowledge their sins and repent, and who “lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness” (וְהִיאֲזִינוּ לְקוֹל מוֹרֵה צְדִיק), these people will “prevail over all the sons of the world. And God will atone for them, and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in his holy name” (בְּשֵׁם קֹדֶשׁ), cf. Acts 15:14), García Martínez and Tigchelaar (2000), 580–81. As Jervell argued, the author of Luke/Acts understands the early Jesus-followers to represent those who remain faithful to Israel’s covenant, while those who fail to heed the messiah’s teaching comprise an “unrepentant” faction of Israel. The suggestion that God’s promises to Israel could be simply transferred to non-Jews *tout court* would have been unthinkable to Luke (cf. *Sifre Devarim* §175, which suggests that this “Prophet like Moses” possesses the definitive interpretation of the Law, even to the extent that he may command Israel to transgress its obligations).

E.P. Sanders's proposed hallmarks of common Judaism in the Second-Temple era discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it is possible to observe all four features at work in Luke's narrative. Luke clearly 1) shares in the belief and worship of the God of Israel; 2) is astoundingly proficient in his knowledge and interpretation of Israel's scriptures; 3) insists that Jewish followers of the Way should persevere in upholding the Torah, while gentile Jesus-followers must avoid those activities that will transmit moral impurity to the Temple, the people, and the land of Israel; and 4) in so doing, he thus identifies himself with the history and fate of the Jewish people.

4 Conclusion

The theme of unity within the early Jesus movement features so prominently in Acts that it has become a commonplace in New Testament scholarship. Seldom, however, is enough attention paid to the fact that *communal division* also comprises a significant and recurring motif throughout both Luke and Acts. To conclude this chapter, I would like to reflect briefly on this theme, beginning with Luke's preferred term for the earliest members of the Jesus movement—not Χριστιανοί,¹³⁸ as in the works of later Christian authors like Ignatius or Justin Martyr,¹³⁹ but rather, those who are obedient to τὴν ὁδόν, "the Way" (Luke 1:79, 3:4, 20:21; Acts 9:2, 16:17, 18:26, 19:19, 19:23, 22:4, 24:14, 24:22).¹⁴⁰ In this technical sense, it is inappropriate to refer to Luke as a "Christian." He

138 On the origin of the term Χριστιανός, see David G. Horrell, *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 164–210, who argues that 1 Pet 4:16 is of more value to the study of Christian origins than Acts 11:26. For a fascinating speculative essay on how news about the early Christian movement spread among Roman elites, see Michael J.G. Gray-Fow, "Pomponia Graecina: How Could She Have Heard about Christians and What Did 'Christian' Mean?" *JGRChJ* 16 (2020), 65–78.

139 "It is also notable that all three New Testament occurrences [of Χριστιανός] ... depict the term as one used by outsiders," Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 168. By contrast, Justin employs the term Χριστιανός or its cognates some 58 times throughout *Dial.* and his two *Apologies*, mostly as a self-designation, and occasionally even as synonymous with "gentile." See Terence L. Donaldson, "'We Gentiles': Ethnicity and Identity in Justin's Dialogue," *EC* 4 (2013), 216–41 (219n7).

140 The rarity of the term in the NT may even suggest an earlier date for Luke and Acts. Before the mid-second century, as Horrell notes, the word Χριστιανός was more frequently associated with the Christian movement's *opponents*, appearing only once in the Didache and sporadically among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers as a form of self-designation. Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 164n2.

belonged instead to a Jewish group¹⁴¹ that understood Jesus to be the messiah announced by the prophets, the Righteous One,¹⁴² a “prophet like Moses” (Acts 3:22ff.), and the Way of Torah,¹⁴³ from which the rest of Israel had ostensibly strayed.

For Luke, Jesus indeed causes the very division he proclaims in the Third Gospel (Luke 12:51ff.). But it is not until Acts that this division really comes to narrative fruition. During the high-water mark of his speech before the Sanhedrin in Acts 7, Stephen recounts the Israelites’ worship of the golden calf (Acts 7:35–43). Through the lips of the protomartyr, Luke reads the Sinai narrative typologically, with Moses’s divine vocation prefiguring that of Jesus.¹⁴⁴

Two points of Stephen’s retelling are especially noteworthy: First, the problem with the ancient Israelites was that they were “unwilling to obey” Moses (οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι, Acts 7:39). Once again, the division is not between “old Israel” and “new Israel”—or even between “Jews” and “gentiles”—but instead between *those who are obedient* (i.e., to the way of life directed by Torah) and *those who are not*.¹⁴⁵ Second, Luke reads Moses’s absence following his journey up Mount Sinai as a prefigurement of Jesus’s own ascension to the right hand of God. Luke’s crucial concern is with how Israel responds during this absence: When God’s agent returns, will he find an Israel that is obedient, or an Israel that—like its historical predecessor—has reverted to the worship of things made by human hands (i.e., Acts 7:41; 48–50; 17:24–25; 19:26) rather than the doing of Torah?¹⁴⁶

According to Luke, God has neither abandoned nor rejected Israel;¹⁴⁷ rather, Israel has become “divided” on the issue of Messiah Jesus (ἐσχίσθη, Acts 14:4, 23:7).¹⁴⁸ This is most apparent in the results of Paul’s and Barnabas’s preaching

141 The author of Luke/Acts also rejects the label αἵρεσις, or sect, which he apparently takes to be pejorative (i.e., Acts 24:14).

142 Luke 23:47; Acts 3:14, 7:52, 22:14.

143 Cf. Exod 32:8; Deut 9:12; Isa 30:21; see also Wis 5:6, ὁδοῦ ἀληθείας.

144 “We can be relatively confident that even when Luke has little to offer by way of distinctive material, he was no mere compiler but had a firm grasp of the significance of the traditions he used,” M. Max B. Turner, “The Sabbath, Sunday, and the Law in Luke/Acts,” 99–157 in *From Sabbath to Lord’s Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation*, ed. by D.A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982; Reprint Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1999), 101.

145 Cf. Acts 5:32; 6:7.

146 Cf. Luke 18:8, “Nevertheless, the Son of Man indeed having come, will he find faithfulness upon the earth?”

147 As the father tells the jealous elder son in Luke 15:31, “You are always with me, and all that is mine is yours.”

148 See also Johannes Nikolai Tischler, *Diener des höchsten Gottes: Paulus und die Heiden in der Apostelgeschichte*, BNZW 225 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

at the synagogue in Iconium: “The disobedient [ἀπειθήσαντες] Jews stirred up the gentiles ... The residents of the city were divided, some sided with the *Ioudaioi*, and some with the Apostles” (Acts 14:2, 4). What the careful reader should attend to here is not the noun “*Ioudaioi*,” but the participle ἀπειθήσαντες (“disobeying/disobedient”).¹⁴⁹ Luke is not claiming that all *Ioudaioi* are inherently disobedient troublemakers. Rather, Luke says that it was only those specific “*Ioudaioi* who were disobedient” who were the instigators of the division.¹⁵⁰ For the author of Luke/Acts, an encounter with the Risen Lord necessarily precipitates a κρίσις, a “judgment” or “decision”¹⁵¹ that distinguishes those who are obedient to the Gospel proclamation from those who are not (e.g. Luke 12:57; Acts 4:19, 13:46). In this way, Luke returns full-circle to Simeon’s prophecy to Mary in the Jerusalem Temple at the beginning of his gospel (Luke 2:34): This Jesus was indeed “destined for the falling and rising of many in Israel.”

149 Emphatically *not* “unbelieving,” as per the NRSV.

150 English translations often mask this and other similar distinctions found in the Greek manuscripts. How might this understanding of faithfulness and obedience change the way readers think about other Jews in Luke and Acts? In Acts 16:1, for example, the NRSV renders Luke’s description of Timothy’s mother as “a Jewish woman who was a believer.” Yet the actual text—γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς—could just as easily be rendered “a faithful [as opposed to ἀπιστίας, ‘unfaithful/disloyal’] Jewish woman.” The semantic structure of the contrast here supports such a reading: linguistically, the identification of Timothy’s father as an Ἕλληνας contrasts the status of Timothy’s mother not as a πιστῆς, but as a Ἰουδαίας. For a linguistic study of contrast in the Greek NT, see Nicholas P. Lunn, “Categories of Contrast in New Testament Greek,” *BAGL* 7 (2018), 31–80, esp. 43–7.

151 Judgment (of the non-eschatological sort) is also a recurrent theme in both Luke and Acts, e.g., Luke 6:37, 7:43, 11:19, 11:31, 11:32, 12:14, 12:57, 12:58, 18:2ff., 19:22 (cf. Acts 13:46!), 22:30; Acts 3:13, 4:19, 7:27, 7:35, 13:20, 13:46, 15:19, 16:4, 16:15, 18:15, 21:25, 23:3, 24:10, 25:25, 27:1.

Τὰ Ἑθνη and the Authorship of Luke/Acts: A Socio-Cognitive Perspective

If you should wish to prove that a man belonged to another race, no doubt you would fetch your proof from the idiom of his language.

TERTULLIAN OF CARTHAGE, *Marc.* 4.11



There is a popular joke about a Jewish convert to the Christian Protestant Mainline: After being invited to deliver the Sunday homily at his new church, he approaches the pulpit, draws out the folded piece of paper with his remarks from his jacket pocket, and begins, “My fellow *goyim* ...”¹ The playful incongruity at the heart of the joke, of course, is the suggestion that a Jew—even one who had converted to Christianity—would ever self-identify as a *goy*, or non-Jew. Along similar lines, in an unfortunately overlooked contribution to Lukan studies, Marilyn Salmon posed an intriguing challenge to scholars of Luke and Acts thirty years ago:

No one would disagree that the gentile mission is a prominent theme in Acts, and probably the Gospel, as well. It has typically been taken for granted that this fact implies that Luke and his audience are gentiles. I think the prominence of this theme and Luke’s interest in gentiles supports just the opposite conclusion. “Gentile” means “not Jewish.” The designation itself reflects a Jewish perspective of the world ... “Gentile” is a label Jews use to designate anyone who is not a Jew ... I think Christians frequently identify with the gentiles in reading the New Testament, reading “gentile” as a synonym for “Christian.” This interpretation misses the point that the term “gentile” is relevant within Judaism. Once we move outside a Jewish matrix to a situation where the church is predominantly non-Jewish, the label “not Jewish” is irrelevant. It is relevant to Luke,

¹ Abraham Socher, “Says Who?” *Jewish Review of Books* (2018) <https://jewishreviewofbooks.com/articles/3238/says-who/>.

however, and I think that this relevance suggests that he views the world from a Jewish perspective.²

Simply put, if the term “gentile” (Gk: ἔθνος) is Jewish “insider” language used to refer to a non-Jewish “outsider,” and if non-Jews typically do not identify themselves as such, how might the pervasive appearance of τὰ ἔθνη in Luke and especially Acts be explained if the author was raised and educated within a social context where the designation would have been essentially meaningless? To my knowledge, Salmon’s observation has never been addressed adequately by subsequent New Testament research, although scholarly interest in Luke’s use of the term ἔθνος/τὰ ἔθνη has only grown.³ Building upon this research, and drawing from sociological data on in-group/out-group designations in antiquity as well as the cognitive, linguistic, and social theory underlying the use of culturally specific ethnonyms, in this chapter I will both affirm and extend Salmon’s argument: Luke’s use of τὰ ἔθνη as a descriptor for non-Jews—taken together with other linguistic evidence in Luke/Acts—suggests that he was very likely enculturated within a Jewish social context.⁴

2 Marilyn Salmon, “Insider or Outsider? Luke’s Relationship with Judaism,” 76–82 in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. by Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 79–80.

3 E.g. Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); John G. Gager, “Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues in the Book of Acts,” 91–99 in *Christians Among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl on His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by George W.E. Nickelsburg and George W. MacRae (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); and also A.T. Kraabel, “Greeks, Jews, and Lutherans in the Middle Half of Acts,” 147–157 in *ibid*; Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 24–45; Christoph W. Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith*, WUNT 2.108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Elizabeth V. Dowling, “‘To the Ends of the Earth’: Attitudes to Gentiles in Luke-Acts,” 191–208 in *Attitudes to Gentiles in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. by David C. Sim and James S. McLaren, LNTS 499 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013).

4 Even though this chapter deals primarily with linguistic questions regarding NT texts, I have consciously avoided relying on Kittel and Friedrich’s *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* in my research due to its (at best) antisemitic bias and (at worst) its presupposition of Nazi ideology. Maurice Casey, “Some Anti-Semitic Assumptions in the ‘Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,’” *NovT* 41, no. 3 (1999), 280–291; Wayne Meeks, “A Nazi New Testament Professor Reads His Bible: The Strange Case of Gerhard Kittel,” 513–44 in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. by Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman (Boston: Brill, 2003); Anders Gerdmar, *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, From Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), esp. 417–530; Hans Förster, “What to Do with the TDNT?” *Didaktikos: Journal for Theological Education* 4, no. 3 (2021), 40–42.

1 Cognitive Linguistics and Social Identity

Researchers operating under the auspices of cognitive linguistics (CL) have explored the dynamic interplay of language, cognition, and social identity. Contrary to structuralist and poststructuralist conceptions alike, a CL perspective acknowledges that cognition, identity, and language are paradoxically intertwined, like M.C. Escher's famous 1948 lithograph, *Drawing Hands*. CL proceeds from an *embodied schema*, which grounds the discipline in the concrete world of human experience.⁵ The color RED for one person is RED for nearly all people, and this represents the core value of a cognitive approach: some facts of our embodied existence are trans-cultural and trans-historical.⁶ Within this fact, however, another truth is nested: The way we choose to express our relationship to the color RED (for instance, the association of RED with ANGER, rather than SADNESS) is culturally specific. According to a cognitive approach, this perspective on the world is not *causa sui*, but emerges from a socially conditioned cultural linguistic encyclopedia.⁷ In short, as Elizabeth Shively helpfully summarizes, "We organize what we know about the world according to what we already know and experience."⁸

In addition, the language humans use to delimit social identity also serves to amplify those very same characteristics to denote social belonging. Even though identity is often fluid and situation-dependent, Maxine Grossman argues, "Notions of 'insider' and 'outsider' are important not merely because members of an insider group *are* different from the people they think of as outsiders, but because they *cultivate* such differences."⁹ Nowhere is this more apparent than in the use of language to express the cognitive process of categorization.¹⁰

5 "The core of our conceptual systems is directly grounded in perception, body movement, and experience of a physical and social character," Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, xiv.

6 Throughout this chapter, formulae for concepts and conceptual metaphors will be rendered in small capital letters, according to disciplinary convention (e.g., PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS).

7 Istvan Kecskes, "Encyclopaedic Knowledge and Cultural Models," 175–97 in *Cognitive Pragmatics*, ed. by Hans-Jörg Schmid (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012).

8 Elizabeth Shively, "Becoming a Disciple without Seeing Jesus: Narrative as a Way of Knowing in Mark's Gospel," 35–50 in *Let the Reader Understand: Essays in Honor of Elizabeth Struthers Malbon*, ed. by Edwin K. Broadhead (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 36.

9 Maxine L. Grossman, "Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and 'Insider' Status," 1–11 in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović (Boston: Brill, 2008), 2.

10 Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 67.

Conceptual categorization is often culturally dependent, and is observable throughout a wide range of social phenomena, from culture-specific cuisine to the development and perpetuation of stereotypes and prejudices against people groups designated as “outsiders”.¹¹ As Croft and Cruse note, in studies conducted using “Goodness-of-Exemplar” (GOE) testing, the results tend to highlight cultural idiosyncrasies among conceptual categories.¹² When asked to assign a numerical score to various concepts that might fall under the category FRUIT, for instance—with 1 being the best or most fitting example from the conceptual category, and 7 being the poorest—an average British audience typically will assign the concept DATE a GOE score of 3–4. Among an audience of Jordanians, however, the same concept consistently and unanimously receives a GOE score of 1, indicating that in geographical regions like Jordan, unsurprisingly, dates are more readily conceptualized as fruit and therefore categorized accordingly.¹³ This measure of specificity is further confirmed by so-called *priming experiments* based upon a “lexical decision task,” in which participants are shown a string of letters and must determine if they form a word. Researchers have found that “priming” the participants before the lexical decision task by featuring a conceptual category name (like FRUIT) increases the speed in participants’ response time for certain concepts: “The priming effect correlates with the GOE score of the category member, that is, for Britons, FRUIT will speed up the response to APPLE to a greater degree than the response to, for instance, DATE.”¹⁴ These studies in lexical priming reveal conceptual categorization to be at least partly *unconscious* in nature, and furthermore that cultures with distinctive conceptual categories tend to possess more refined criteria for inclusion in those categories than other cultures where the same concepts are less familiar (e.g., the way that a date may be recognized as a fruit more readily by Jordanians, for example, than for Britons). This point is especially relevant to Luke’s characterization of gentiles, as I will show in the second half of this chapter.

11 E.g., Henri Tajfel, “Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice,” *Journal of Social Issues* 25, no. 4 (1969), 79–97; Irving Lewis Allen, *The Language of Ethnic Conflict: Social Organization and Lexical Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Liudmila Arcimaviciene and Sercan Hamza Baglama, “Migration, Metaphor and Myth in Media Representations: The Ideological Dichotomy of ‘Them’ and ‘Us,’” *SAGE Open* (April–June 2018), 1–13.

12 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 78. GOE testing was first developed by Eleanor Rosch to study prototypicality in cognitive categorization. See Rosch, “Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 104, no. 5 (1975), 192–233.

13 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 78.

14 Ibid, 78–9.

CL has also shown promise in understanding the usage of culture-specific conceptual metaphors.¹⁵ In a striking example of how conceptual metaphors reveal the cognitive processes behind certain forms of concrete human experience, Zoltán Kövecses recounts a 2002 study by psychologist Linda McMullen and mathematician John Conway that identified the metaphor DEPRESSION IS A CAPTOR as a linguistic phenomenon unique to those who have suffered from clinical depression:

Why don't 'merely' sad people talk about sadness as being a 'captor'? Most people do not normally talk about being trapped by, wanting to be free of, or wanting to break out of sadness, although these are ways of thinking and talking about depression in a clinical context. It makes sense to suggest that people with depression use this language and way of thinking about their situation because it faithfully captures what they experience and feel. Their deep concern is with their unique experiences and feelings that set them apart from people who do not have them. It is this concern that gives them the CAPTOR metaphor for depression.¹⁶

15 See Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Talmy Givón, *Context as Other Minds: The Pragmatics of Sociality, Cognition and Communication* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005), esp. 65ff.; Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); René Dirven, Hans-Georg Wolf, and Frank Polzenhagen, "Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Studies," 1203–1221 in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. by Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Elżbieta Górka, "On the Diversity of Linguistic Evidence for Conceptual Metaphor," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 45, no. 2 (2009), 81–106; Zoltán Kövecses, "Metaphor, Culture, and Discourse: The Pressure of Coherence," 11–24 in *Metaphor and Discourse*, ed. by Andreas Musolff and Jörg Zinken (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Carsten Levisen, *Cultural Semantics and Social Cognition: A Case Study on the Danish Universe of Meaning* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); John Wilson and Martin Hay, "Internal Media, Conceptual Metaphors and Minority Cultural Identities," *Ethnicities* 13, no. 1 (2012), 49–67; Adam Glaz, David S. Danaher, and Przemysław Łozowski, eds., *The Linguistic Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition, and Culture* (London: Versita, 2013); Masataka Yamaguchi, Dennis Tay, and Benjamin Blount, eds., *Approaches to Language: Culture, and Cognition: The Intersection of Cognitive Linguistics and Linguistic Anthropology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Javier E. Díaz-Vera, ed., *Metaphor and Metonymy across Time and Cultures: Perspectives on the Sociohistorical Linguistics of Figurative Language* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Dirk Geeraerts, "The Cultural History of Metaphors," 125–60 in Geeraerts, *Ten Lectures on Cognitive Sociolinguistics* (Boston: Brill, 2018).

16 Zoltán Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12.

Once again, the above illustration reveals how some linguistic concepts are contingent upon personal experience—and this contingency is likewise discernible within the language system that individuals employ to describe their experience.

Since humans are neither totally free from their environment nor completely constrained by it, however, further nuance is required here. Given the fact that not every person who belongs to a social community may be said to share *every* quality associated with that community, it could be claimed that cognitive approaches such as those discussed above elide the role of independent agency in the process of social identity formation.¹⁷ In fact, however, as Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall have argued, precisely the opposite appears to be the case.¹⁸ A dialectic relationship exists between the processes of social identity formation and self-categorization.¹⁹ Adopting what they call an “interactional” approach to social identity, Bucholtz and Hall make the salient observation that by its very nature as a relational construct, “identity exceeds the individual self ... Even seemingly coherent displays of identity, such as those that pose as deliberate and intentional, are reliant on both interaction

17 Kecskes, “Encyclopaedic Knowledge,” 190.

18 See Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, “Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach,” *Discourse Studies* 7, no. 4/5 (2005), 585–614; idem, “Locating Identity in Language,” 18–28 in *Language and Identities*, ed. by Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); see also Howard Giles, “Linguistic Differentiation in Ethnic Groups,” 361–93 in *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by Henri Tajfel (London: Academic Press, 1978); Eberhard Bons and Karin Finsterbusch, eds., *Konstruktionen individueller und kollektiver Identität* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017). For a discussion of religious identity from within a cognitive linguistics approach, see Peter Richardson, Charles M. Mueller, and Stephen Pihlaja, *Cognitive Linguistics and Religious Language: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

19 On the interrelatedness of individual and collective identities, see Henri Tajfel, “Experiments in a Vacuum,” 69–119 in *The Context of Social Psychology*, ed. by Joachim Israel and Henri Tajfel (London: Academic Press, 1972); Tajfel, *Differentiation between Social Groups* (New York: Academic Press, 1978); Roderick M. Kramer, et al., eds., *Social Cognition, Social Identity, and Intergroup Relations: A Festschrift in Honor of Marilynn B. Brewer* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011); Rusi Jaspal and Glynis M. Breakwell, eds., *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Social Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); On self-categorization theory, see Henri Tajfel and John Charles Turner, “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict,” 33–47 in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole, 1979); John Charles Turner, et al., eds., *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Turner, et al., “Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20, no. 5 (1994), 454–463.

and ideological constraints for their articulation.”²⁰ Thus, “the role of agency becomes problematic only when it is conceptualized as located within an individual rational subject who consciously authors his identity without structural constraints.”²¹ In other words, it is not the claim that humans are constrained by their environment which constitutes a problem, but instead the inherently flawed presupposition of a Cartesian autonomous subject who operates independently from the culture in which they were born, raised, and socialized.²²

Grounding their study in socio-cultural linguistic research, Bucholtz and Hall propose a series of five principles to help reframe the current scholarly discussion of how identity is formed. Of these, the third principle (the “Indexicality Principle”) is especially relevant to the present chapter:

Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or others’ identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.²³

In other words, one of the most fundamental ways in which identity may be expressed is the language one uses to distinguish oneself from another. This language, moreover, which includes multi-level indexical activities such as labeling, implicature, stance-taking, style-marking, and code-choice, is for the

20 Bucholtz and Hall, “Locating Identity in Language,” 25.

21 Ibid, 26. Bucholtz and Hall note that their masculine gendering of their hypothetical subject is intentional, as “male subjectivity was taken as unmarked by many scholars in earlier generations.”

22 “The interactional view that we take here has the added benefit of undoing the false dichotomy between structure and agency that has long plagued social theory ... On the one hand, it is only through discursive interaction that large-scale social structures come into being; on the other hand, even the most mundane everyday conversations are impinged upon by ideological and material constructs that produce relations of power. Thus both structure and agency are intertwined as components of micro as well as macro articulations of identity,” *ibid*, 26.

23 Bucholtz and Hall, “Locating Identity,” 21. The other four principles, which will not be addressed here, are summarized as follows: Identity is an emergent *product* of culture rather than its precondition (“The Emergence Principle”); Identity formation occurs simultaneously at three different levels of categorization (“The Positionality Principle”); Identity emerges as the result of various intersubjective relationships (“The Relationality Principle”); and finally, identity is only ever expressed in limited, fragmentary form, depending on the relational need of any given interaction (“The Partialness Principle”).

most part a “bottom-up” process that grants the user a degree of agency in self-expression, even while this user is nonetheless unconsciously dependent upon a vast encyclopedia of cultural knowledge that provides the conceptual categories for their self-expression.²⁴

2 Preliminary Considerations

The linguistic insights explored in the previous section have proven especially fruitful to the field of biblical studies in recent decades.²⁵ The secondary literature on ethnic discourse in early Christianity and Judaism is likewise vast.²⁶

24 “In identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological structures, for associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values—that is, ideologies—about the sorts of speakers who (can or should) produce particular sorts of language,” *ibid.*

25 E.g. André Lemaire, ed., *Congress Volume Leiden 2004* (Boston: Brill, 2006), esp. 255–80 and 355–80; Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen, and Risto Uro, eds., *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism: Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Boston: Brill, 2007); Elizabeth R. Hayes, *The Pragmatics of Perception and Cognition in MT Jeremiah 1:1–6:30: A Cognitive Linguistics Approach* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008); Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen, *Prepare the Way of the Lord: Toward a Cognitive Poetic Analysis of Audience Involvement with Characters and Events in the Markan World*, BZNW 180 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); Frederick S. Tappenden, “Luke and Paul in Dialogue: Ritual Meals and Risen Bodies as Instances of Embodied Cognition,” 203–228 in *Resurrection of the Dead: Biblical Traditions in Dialogue*, ed. by Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd (Leuven: Peeters, 2012); Ross S. Kraemer, “‘Normally Non-Observable’: Some Thoughts on Cognitive Science, Theory of Religion, Practice Theory, and Gender,” 55–67 in *‘The One Who Sows Bountifully’: Essays in Honor of Stanley K. Stowers*, ed. by Caroline Johnson Hodge et al. (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2013); Bonnie Howe and Joel B. Green, eds., *Cognitive Linguistic Explorations in Biblical Studies* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2014); Johan de Jooode and Hanneke van Loon, “Selecting and Analyzing Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible: Cognitive Linguistics and the Literary,” 39–52 in *Approaches to Literary Readings of Ancient Jewish Writings*, ed. by Klaas Smelik and Karolien Vermeulen (Boston: Brill, 2014); Julia A. Snyder, *Language and Identity in Ancient Narratives: The Relationship between Speech Patterns and Social Context in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Wendy L. Widder, “*To Teach*” in *Ancient Israel: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of a Biblical Hebrew Lexical Set*, BZAW 456 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); Godwin Mushayabasa, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1–24: A Frame Semantics Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Marilyn E. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning* (Boston: Brill, 2017); Linda A. King, “Full of Life: A Cognitive Linguistic Reading of Metaphors of Abundance in the Gospel of John,” (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 2017), among many others.

26 E.g. Erich S. Gruen, “Jewish Perspectives on Greek Culture and Ethnicity,” 62–93 in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. by John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Judith Lieu, *Neither Jew nor Greek?:*

This is especially true of Luke and Acts, and Luke's use of insider/outsider designations has received increasing attention in the past few decades.²⁷ Consequently, for the sake of expediency I will restrict my own study as narrowly as possible to an analysis of τὰ ἔθνη in Luke/Acts using George Lakoff's theory of Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM), which seems uniquely well suited to the task at hand. A few preliminary observations are needed, however, to offer further context for my perspective in the second half of this chapter.

In their recent inventory and analysis of signature Lukan vocabulary, Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga argue that two primary considerations must first be taken into account for any sociolinguistic study to be successful: First, the study must be approached at the level of the *text* rather than that of the *author*.²⁸ Second, characteristic language is dependent not simply upon

Constructing Early Christianity (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2003); Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Caroline Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Philip F. Esler, "Judean Ethnic Identity in Josephus' *Against Apion*," 73–91 in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Seán Freyne*, ed. by Zuleika Rodgers, Margaret Daly-Denton, and Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley (Boston: Brill, 2009); Love L. Sechrest, *A Former Jew: Paul and the Dialectics of Race* (New York: T&T Clark, 2009); Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford, 2011); R. Barry Matlock, "Jews by Nature': Paul, Ethnicity, and Galatians," 304–15 in *Far From Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies*, ed. by Duncan Burns and J.W. Rogerson (London: T&T Clark, 2012); William S. Campbell, "Differentiation and Discrimination in Paul's Ethnic Discourse," *Transformation* 30, no. 3 (2013), 157–68; Stewart Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt: With Walls of Iron?* (Boston: Brill, 2015); Carmen Palmer, *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Gēr and Mutable Ethnicity* (Boston: Brill, 2018); Andrew Benko, *Race in John's Gospel: Toward an Ethnos-Conscious Approach* (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress Academic, 2019); Stewart Penwell, *Jesus the Samaritan: Ethnic Labeling in the Gospel of John* (Boston: Brill, 2019); and David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020).

27 The most lauded recent work in this area is Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). See also Aaron J. Kuecker, *The Spirit and the 'Other': Social Identity, Ethnicity and Intergroup Reconciliation in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 444 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2011); Joshua Jipp, "Hospitable Barbarians: Luke's Ethnic Reasoning in Acts 28:1–10," *JETS* 68, no. 1 (2017), 23–45; G. Anthony Keddie, "Who Is My Neighbor?: Ethnic Boundaries and the Samaritan Other in Luke 10:25–37," *BiblInt* 28, no. 2 (2020), 246–71; and Christopher Stroup, *The Christians who became Jews: Acts of the Apostles and Ethnicity in the Roman City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

28 Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga, eds., *The Vocabulary of Luke: An Alphabetical Presentation and a Survey of Characteristic and Noteworthy Words and Word Groups in Luke's Gospel*, BTS 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), xxv. This does not exclude the possibility that the text

vocabulary alone, but upon a host of its attendant uses in context.²⁹ “Once there is agreement on these preliminary issues, we think that the phenomenon of Lukan style or characteristic language use cannot be described on the basis of statistical data only, nor can it be done without taking the statistical evidence into account.”³⁰ Any socio-linguistic study of Luke and Acts, in other words, must take into account *both* the statistical analysis of Lukan vocabulary, and the scholarly findings regarding Luke’s characteristic style.³¹

The bare fact of a word or phrase’s occurrence at all—let alone its frequency of occurrence—will not provide an adequate picture of the author’s ethnic or sociolinguistic background. The word ἀδελφός, for example, appears roughly 85 times in various forms throughout Luke and Acts. While it could be argued this statistical frequency indicates that kinship comprises a major theme in the Lukan corpus, this fact alone does little to advance the conversation about Luke’s social and historical situation. The real question is how Luke employs this term in context.³² Furthermore, how does Luke’s use of ἀδελφός differ—if at all—from that of other early evangelists, or from pagan writers who might have shared his cultural milieu? I suggest that this is precisely where a cognitive approach may prove useful to the scholar of biblical texts.

2.1 *Enculturation*

Bucholtz and Hall’s conception of identity as “interactional” corresponds with Istvan Kecskes’s socio-cognitive approach to encyclopedic knowledge and cultural models.³³ For Kecskes, encyclopedic knowledge is “a structured system of knowledge, organized as a network,” that is predominantly represented in “cultural models that provide scenarios or action plans for individuals of how to interpret and behave in a particular situation or how to interpret the behavior of others in one or another situation.”³⁴ Kecskes refers to these cultural models as *cognitive frames*, or “templates of assumed or implicit knowledge

can tell us anything about its author; only that the text must first be reckoned with on its own terms.

29 Ibid, xxvi.

30 Ibid.

31 “When the results of the two sets of criteria converge, they have indeed a greater degree of certainty,” *ibid*, xxvii.

32 This point follows the basic argument of early gestalt theorists like Kurt Koffka that merely summing an entity’s parts does very little to move us toward an understanding of the entity: “The whole is something else than the sum of its parts, because summing is a meaningless procedure, whereas the whole-part relationship is meaningful,” Koffka, *The Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), 176.

33 See Kecskes, “Encyclopaedic Knowledge and Cultural Models”.

34 Ibid, 175.

that assist individuals in interpreting and understanding information and events.”³⁵ These cultural models are fundamentally interactional, since they are “internalized by individuals through everyday shared experiential processes ... [namely,] cognitive patterns that develop from different types of inputs, such as instruction, activities, communication, observation, practices, etc.”³⁶ While it may be true that each individual’s experience is entirely unique, the very nature of human communication requires an implicit agreement between persons to seek conceptual “common ground” in order to understand one another.³⁷ This constant negotiation and renegotiation of meaning lends itself to the formation of socio-cognitive “short-cuts” that limit the time and energy required to arrive at mutual understanding. Or, as Kecskes puts it, “When we do things with other people, routinely and repeatedly, we usually develop some standardized way of doing so.”³⁸ These standardized “ways of doing things” serve both to reinforce some cultural models over others, and to reinscribe the shared encyclopedic knowledge of the language community.³⁹

If communities are not only shaped by their language but also engage in linguistic identity-shaping, then, the ideological texture of a person’s language may serve as an indicator of social identity, as we have seen. That is, a person’s language itself can become an identifying marker of the speaker’s enculturation within a particular social group—or, more precisely, of the embedded beliefs, assumptions, and practices within the speaker’s cultural encyclopedia.⁴⁰ First introduced by Melville J. Herskovits in his 1948 monograph, *Man and His Works*:

35 Ibid, 181.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid, 186.

38 Ibid, 185.

39 “Communities are defined by the social activities that bind the members together. [Herbert] Clark argues that communities involve the possession of shared expertise among their members: the specialized knowledge that is acquired by engaging in the activities that define the community (Clark 1996:102–4). This shared expertise is the conceptual structure that is found in the frame/domains of the concepts symbolized by the specialized vocabulary used by members of the community,” Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 18. Incidentally, this phenomenon also sheds light on Jesus’s frequent clashes with the “scribal elite” in the canonical gospels—namely, Jesus presumes to teach Torah authoritatively without first having gone through the extensive educational training required to do so. See Chris Keith, *Jesus Against the Scribal Elite: The Origins of the Conflict* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014).

40 Once again, however, I am not arguing that ethnicity can be *reduced* to language alone; rather, I am concerned with language as just one possible marker of ethnicity among many others. On resisting the temptation to define ethnicity by a single characteristic, see Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), esp. 36–69.

The Science of Cultural Anthropology, enculturation refers to “the assimilation of the contents, practices and values of the cultural traditions of a group by the individuals belonging to the group.”⁴¹ The problem, however, is that people are typically very good at masking their identity through language according to the needs of various circumstances, especially within the context of literary narrative.⁴² This is where a socio-cognitive approach in particular may provide critical insight, since these related disciplines rely on the expression of concepts that are unconsciously assumed by a given speaker or writer. The argument that I pursue in the remaining pages of this chapter is that, given Luke’s characterization of gentiles in the Third Gospel and Acts, his enculturation took place within a social context that privileged the shared beliefs and practices of common Judaism in the mid-to-late first century CE.

2.2 *Culture as a Limiting Factor*

Despite the widely recognized literary quality of Luke’s Greek, scholars historically have been divided concerning the nature and purpose of this distinctly Lukan feature.⁴³ As Sean Adams has observed, “Luke’s Greek does not fit nicely into the standard Hellenistic prose box, and so is not straightforward to label.”⁴⁴ According to Adams, however, there remains an acute need for further linguistic analysis of Luke and Acts with the explicit aim of better understanding Luke’s underlying motivations and language choice.⁴⁵ While a general consensus appears to have emerged that there was no dialect in antiquity that was distinctly identifiable as “Jewish Greek,”⁴⁶ there was nonetheless a

41 Guido Bolaffi, et al., *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture* (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 87.

42 This is especially true in the case of “code-switching,” in which a speaker adopts an inflected speech-pattern or writing style depending on audience and context. See Jonathan M. Watt, *Code-Switching in Luke and Acts* (Bern, CH: Peter Lang, 1997). For a recent critical evaluation of Watt’s thesis, see Albert Hogeterp and Adelbert Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek*, WUNT 401 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 40–43, 509–10.

43 For an overview of the various explanatory theories, see Hogeterp and Denaux, *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek*, 25–61.

44 Sean A. Adams, “Atticism, Classicism, and Luke-Acts: Discussions with Albert Wifstrand and Loveday Alexander,” 91–111 in *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development*, ed. by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew Pitts (Boston: Brill, 2013), 104.

45 “The move towards a linguistic understanding and motivation for language use is an important step in the understanding of Luke’s language choice and its implications for interpreting Luke-Acts,” *ibid.*, 104–5.

46 E.g., G.H.R. Horsley, “The Fiction of Jewish Greek,” 5–40 in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Vol. 5: *Linguistic Essays*, ed. by G.H.R. Horsley (Sydney: Macquarie University Press, 1989); Loveday Alexander, “Septuaginta, Fachprosa, Imitatio: Albert Wifstrand and the Language of Luke-Acts,” 232–52 in Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary*

sizable list of words and phrases that were more commonly employed within a Jewish cultural context. Pieter van der Horst has noted that this vocabulary—particularly words like νομομαθής, φιλέντολος, φιλοσυναγωγος, and φιλοπένης, among others—may in fact be the only feature that distinguishes ancient Jewish inscriptions from pagan ones.⁴⁷ Though it may not be possible to identify a speaker/author by their vocabulary alone, the observation cannot be easily dismissed that Jewish communities in antiquity (like all linguistic communities) favored some words and concepts over others. Adams succinctly describes the limiting function that an author's culture exercises over their linguistic choices:

Although a writer can tailor his or her writing to a particular situation, the selection of genre as well as the literary forms that are culturally available provide outside constraints to the registers available to the author. As a result, the context of culture limits the register options available, which in turn constrains the dialectical features chosen by the author.⁴⁸

Adams's observation is crucial. The limits of Luke's language mean the limits of Luke's world.⁴⁹ To understand Luke's world, then, we must seek to understand his language.⁵⁰

2.3 *Translation Is Interpretation*

First, however, it is necessary to make a point regarding a few of the ways in which the most significant English translation of Luke and Acts frequently obfuscates the potential for reading these texts within a Jewish milieu. Take, for instance, the word συστροφή, which appears only twice in the New Testament, both occurrences in the Lukan corpus (Acts 19:40, 23:12). The NRSV translates each occurrence differently: In Acts 19:40, during a tense moment following a

Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles (London: T&T Clark, 2005); Adams, "Atticism, Classicism, and Luke-Acts"; Pieter W. van der Horst, *Saxa judaica loquuntur: Lessons from Early Jewish Inscriptions*, BibInt 134 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 88.

47 van der Horst, *Saxa judaica loquuntur*, 88.

48 Adams, "Atticism, Classicism, and Luke-Acts," 110.

49 Ludwig Wittgenstein, "Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus" (5.6), in *Major Works: Selected Philosophical Writings* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), 63.

50 This observation is not new. See esp. Gerrit van Steenbergen, "Componential Analysis of Meaning and Cognitive Linguistics: Some Prospects for Biblical Hebrew Lexicology," Parts 1 and 2, *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 28, nos.1–2 (2002), 19–37, 109–26; and *ibid*, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation: An Integrated Analysis of a Selection of Hebrew Lexical Items Referring to Negative Moral Behaviour in the Book of Isaiah* (Stellenbosch, ZA: Stellenbosch University Press, 2005).

clash at Ephesus, a local scribe warns the crowd, “We are in danger of being charged with rioting today, since there is no cause that we can give to justify this commotion (συστροφής).” In 23:12, however, the same word has a much more sinister connotation when applied to a faction of *Ioudaioi* who plot to murder Paul: “In the morning the Jews joined in a conspiracy (συστροφήν) and bound themselves by an oath neither to eat nor drink until they had killed Paul.” This translational inconsistency underscores an ethically troubling distinction for English readers of Acts: Gentile crowds may cause “commotion,” but Jews “conspire.”⁵¹

Though it may be debated that such inconsistent renderings of the Greek text in English are contextually necessary, they nonetheless have serious consequences for how readers are encouraged to understand Luke’s categorization of various individuals and groups. When referring to gatherings of those belonging to the Way, for instance, the NRSV typically translates ἐκκλησία—a rare word among the canonical gospels—as “church,” but opts instead for “assembly” when the same word is used to refer to the gentile mob during the Ephesus riot (Acts 19:28–40).⁵² An unfortunate consequence of overfamiliarity with insider Christian terms like “church” is that it inoculates readers against the actual linguistic diversity of characteristically Lukan expressions. To take another example briefly mentioned above, the NRSV often renders ἀδελφοὶ as “believers” (e.g. Acts 9:30, 32; Acts 11:1; Acts 12:17; 15:31–41; Acts 16:2).⁵³ Yet

51 For a critical appraisal of the NRSV translation of Luke and Acts, see Luke Timothy Johnson, “Narrative Criticism and Translation: The Case of Luke-Acts and the NRSV,” 209–32 in *Contested Issues in Christian Origins and the New Testament*, by Luke Timothy Johnson (Boston: Brill, 2013).

52 On the use of the term ἐκκλησία among early Christians, see Ralph J. Korner, *The Origin and Meaning of Ekklesia in the Early Jesus Movement* (Boston: Brill, 2017); Kyriakoula Papademetriou, “The Dynamic Semantic Role of Etymology in the Meaning of Greek Biblical Words. The Case of the Word ἐκκλησία,” 261–80 in *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek: Semantics, Exegesis, Translation*, ed. by Eberhard Bons, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Designations of Christians in Acts and Their Significance,” 314–31 in *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies*, by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), esp. 321–23.

53 For more on the use of the term ἀδελφός in antiquity, see Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 12; Peter Arzt-Grabner, “‘Brothers’ and ‘Sisters’ in Documentary Papyri and in Early Christianity,” *Rivista* 50 (2002), 185–204. For a study on the use of kinship language in Greek associations outside the context of Jewish and Christian communities, see Philip A. Harland, “Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: ‘Brothers’ (Ἀδελφοί) in Associations of the Greek East,” *JBL* 124, no. 3 (2005), 491–513. On Luke’s characteristic usage, see Wilhelmus M.A. Hendriks, *Karakteristiek woordgebruik in de synoptische evangeliën*, Vol. 3 (Nijmegen, NL: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1986), 468.

this translation obscures the fact that Luke typically uses ἀδελφοὶ as a term of address *for Jews by Jews* (e.g. Acts 13:26, Acts 15:7, 13, 15:23[?], 22:1, 23:1, 5, 6).⁵⁴ Furthermore, as Jervell notes, Luke generally avoids having his gentile characters addressed by this term.⁵⁵ In fact, Luke refers to both Jesus-following Jews *and* non-Jesus-following Jews as ‘brothers’ throughout Acts, a point which the NRSV masks by often rendering ἀδελφοὶ as “believers” (i.e. “Christians”).⁵⁶ Near the very end of the Acts, for example, Paul and company lodge with ἀδελφοὶ while traveling through Puteoli (Acts 28:14); they are then joined by additional ἀδελφοὶ who come from far and wide to hear Paul speak during his stay (28:15). Though there is very little contextual evidence to establish just who these ἀδελφοὶ are, the NRSV renders them “believers” rather than “brothers.” This turns out to be an unusual decision, considering just a few verses later Paul meets in Rome with the “leaders of the Jews” (τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους) and proceeds to address them as “brothers” (28:17)! Even more strikingly, these same Jewish leaders also report to Paul that they have not heard anything evil about Paul from “the brothers coming here [from Judea]” (28:21).⁵⁷ By the NRSV’s interpretation of the ending of Acts, Paul spends most of his time cavorting with Christian “believers” before he ultimately and definitively abandons the *Ioudaioi* in favor of the gentiles. A better reading, in my view, is that Paul continues to engage with and rely upon the hospitality of his “brothers,” the *Ioudaioi*, right up until the very end.

The cumulative effect of these translational decisions is that Luke’s authorial characterizations of various people groups are obscured, effectively encouraging a bias among English readers toward a supersessionist or even anti-Jewish

54 In Rom 7:1, Paul explicitly associates the term ἀδελφοὶ with “those knowing the law.” See also Kyu Seop Kim, “Reframing Paul’s Sibling Language in Light of Jewish Epistolary Forms of Address,” *HTS Theological Studies* 71, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i1.2860>.

55 Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock reprint ed., 2002), 50. Jervell concludes that for Luke, “*Adelphos* means Israelite” (51). It may not be a stretch to suggest that Luke intentionally refers to various groups as ἀδελφοὶ to further illustrate the negotiation of ethnic hybridity within the early Jewish Christ-following movement; on which, see Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 2.294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), esp. 70–147.

56 E.g., Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 50–1; Dulcinea Boesenberg, “Negotiating Identity: The Jewishness of the Way in Acts,” *JRSSup* 13 (2016), 60–2; David Andrew Smith, “Acts and the Praxis of Early Christian Ecumenism,” *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 14, no. 2 (2020), 226–45.

57 Would presumably non-Jesus-following Jewish leaders in Rome refer to Judean Jesus-worshippers as “brothers” in the Christian sense of the word?

interpretation of the narrative arc of Luke/Acts. To these initial observations, however, it must be added that this is precisely why it is not enough simply to know the lexical definition of a word to establish its meaning. More significant is the underlying *concept* which, according to the basic principles of cognitive linguistics, the word itself evokes.

3 τὰ ἔθνη in Luke and Acts: Mapping an Idealized Cognitive Model

On its surface, Salmon's observation regarding Luke's use of the term τὰ ἔθνη in reference to non-Jews makes good intuitive sense. Semantically, ἔθνος belongs to a conceptual world in which human beings are categorized according to those who are Jewish and those who are not.⁵⁸ Just as the meaning of the word *Tuesday* presupposes the existence of an enormous network of culturally specific cognitive concepts, the word *gentile* can be defined only relative to an ICM that assumes knowledge of those characteristics comprising the category of JEW(ISH).⁵⁹ In this sense, ἔθνος functions in much the same way as the Japanese terms 外人 (*gaijin* "no-people") or 外国人 (*gaikokujin* "foreign-country-person"), where the label is meaningful only from the assumed perspective of one who is Japanese.⁶⁰ Conceptually, GENTILE is a category created by human beings, and exists in a world of other cultures which do not recognize such distinctions. The relationship between the profile of the word *gentile* to its base/domain may be depicted graphically in Figure 6.1.⁶¹ Simply put, without the basic concept of JEW(ISH), profile concepts like GENTILE are emptied of their semantic value.

There are two main challenges, however, that complicate a direct application of this theory to Luke's use of τὰ ἔθνη in Luke/Acts. First, as we shall see,

58 Further justifying the need for the present study, Stephen Shead has proposed that "in a lexicon which is interested in cognitive semantics, describing [conceptual] mappings, and linking entrenched metaphoric [lexical units] to their bases via these mappings, would be both relevant and helpful," Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 65.

59 "Our model of a week is idealized. Seven-day weeks do not exist objectively in nature. They are created by human beings. In fact, not all cultures have the same kinds of weeks," Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 68.

60 See Howe, *Because You Bear This Name*, 268n7.

61 Figure 6.1 depicts the profile/domain relationship in English terms, but the graphic depiction would be more or less the same for the word forms יִשְׂרָאֵל / ἔθνη, since we are dealing with cognitive conceptual categories rather than objective entities that exist "in real life". See Kudła, *Attributive Ethnonyms*, 41. For more on the problem of cognitive semantics from a cross-linguistic perspective, see Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 181–4.

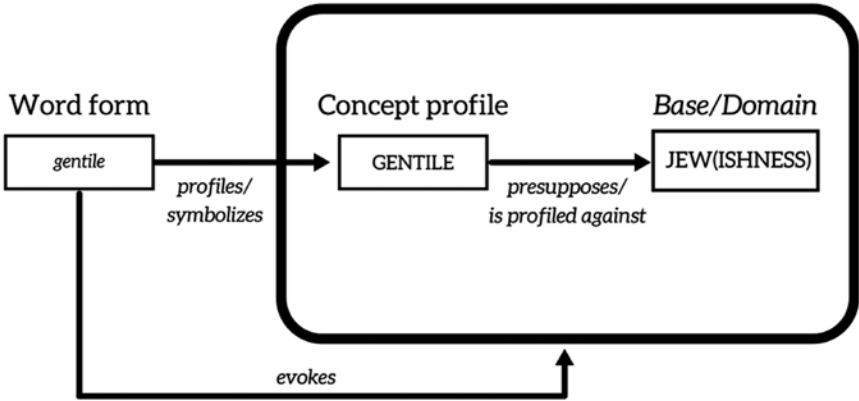


FIGURE 6.1 Diagram adapted from Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 52

the term in question is *polysemic*, with both a narrow “sacred” sense as well as a broader “secular” sense.⁶² Second, Luke’s usage of τὰ ἔθνη alone cannot serve as direct evidence of his Jewishness, since we obviously have many examples of other early Christian writers who use this term in its Jewish sense. I will briefly address the first challenge below and will devote a considerable portion of the next section to responding to the second. Given these necessary qualifications, I propose that a fruitful line of research offering a provisional response to Salmon’s question involves the mapping of an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) of the term ἔθνος in Luke and Acts. Such a model will not only establish the coherence of Luke’s characterization of gentiles but will also serve as a comparandum by which other early Christian writers’ assumptions regarding the “non-Jew” stereotype may be evaluated. It is impossible to overstate, however, the extent to which the following analysis and my subsequent conclusions are *provisional*. Though they strongly suggest that Luke was indeed writing within a Jewish milieu, further research is needed on the cognitive dimensions of Lukan language.⁶³

3.1 ἔθνος: “Nation” or “Gentile”?

Regardless of how Luke’s hypothetical *sources* employ the word ἔθνος, we are left nonetheless with an author who chose to adopt the same concept within his

62 I use the contrasting terms “sacred” and “secular” here as heuristic shorthand rather than as anachronistic technical descriptions of the two distinct senses of τὰ ἔθνη.

63 A monograph-length study of Luke’s ἔθνος ICM would represent a major contribution to the discipline of Luke/Acts studies in particular, not to mention the field of New Testament studies as a whole.

own work, and his particular usage is open to analysis via cognitive-linguistic study.⁶⁴ Given the foregoing discussion, however, it should also be abundantly clear that answering Salmon's question may not be as simple as it first appears. In late antiquity, the meaning of ἔθνος was not restricted exclusively to the Jewish connotation of "gentile/non-Jew".⁶⁵ Rather, it is *polysemic*, carrying multiple possible meanings.⁶⁶ To cite a similar example, Carl Vogel recalls an *Economist* article on real-estate development that references the "bank" of the Seine River; readers intuitively understand that "bank" in this sense refers to a geographic feature and not a financial institution, even though it is reasonable to assume that the magazine's core readership are generally predisposed toward the latter sense of the word.⁶⁷ How, therefore, does one distinguish between the senses of ἔθνος^{NATION} and ἔθνος^{NON-JEW}?

One possible indicator is that Luke depicts τὰ ἔθνη engaging in activities that would be difficult to attribute to an abstract collective like a "nation" or a "people".⁶⁸ In Luke 18:32, for instance, Jesus claims that the Son of Man will be handed over to the ἔθνεσιν, an action which might prove difficult if Luke had several geographically bounded nation-states in mind as a referent. Likewise, in his oracle against Jerusalem in Luke 21:24, Jesus claims that Jerusalem "will be trampled upon by the gentiles" (ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν), which similarly suggests specific people with a specific (i.e., non-Jewish) identity.⁶⁹ More

64 "[E]ven if there is a broad semantic category corresponding to the 'true meaning' of a term, which is contextually shaped and specified in each individual use, this semantic category cannot be dissociated from encyclopedic knowledge and experience of the world. Even in a minimal, default context, various aspects of a person's 'cultural knowledge' will contribute to the meaning evoked ..." Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 41.

65 The most recent and comprehensive analysis of the word ἔθνος of which I am aware is David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020), esp. 217–48. See also Sarah Pearce, "Notes on Philo's Use of the Terms ΕΘΝΟΣ and ΛΑΟΣ," *SPhiloA* 28 (Atlanta: SBL, 2016), 205–26.

66 "According to Cruse, *full* polysemy holds where two senses or readings are clearly distinct from one another (Cruse 2004, 104–6). 'Distinctness' here includes not only discreteness, but also antagonism of senses—that is, the senses 'compete with one another' so that it is 'impossible to focus one's attention on both readings at once' (Cruse 2004, 106)," Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 44, emphasis original.

67 Vogel, "Genericity and Metaphoricity," 40–41.

68 *pace* J.G. Muthuraj, "The Meaning of ἔθνος and ἔθνη and its Significance to the Study of the New Testament," *BTF* 29 (1997), 3–36.

69 It is *possible*, though perhaps unlikely, that ἐθνῶν is functioning here metonymically, with those doing the "trampling" serving as linguistic place-markers for their nations of origin. Note also that Luke, following Matthew, omits *for all nations* from his quotation of Isa 56:7 during Jesus's brouhaha in the Jerusalem Temple (compare Luke 19:46, Matt 21:13, and Mark 11:17).

importantly, as will be discussed further below, the sense evoked by Luke's usage of τὰ ἔθνη in some cases is clarified by the concept against which it is contrasted, which creates an "antagonism of senses," forcing the reader to choose between them. In Acts 10:45, for example, Luke reports that members of the "circumcised faithful ones" are astounded that the holy spirit has been poured out "even upon the gentiles". The forced linguistic contrast between the "circumcised faithful ones" (περιτομῆς πιστοὶ) and the phrase "even on the gentiles" (καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη) helps to limit potential ambiguity—the generic "nations" simply would not fit the context appropriately.

At the same time, it is not necessary to assume that Luke is relying on precisely the same concept in its entirety each time the word ἔθνος appears in his narrative. As Langacker has argued, the use of a word-form like *cat* or *banana* does not imply the sum of all collective knowledge of their concepts. Instead, it is best to think of words (Langacker: "symbolic units") as "nodes," or "points of access" to a vast network of encyclopedic knowledge that allows a hearer/reader to understand a given concept as it is used in context. On the other hand, there are terms that activate the same conceptual domain with repeated use. "Some relational routines," Langacker claims, "have sufficient centrality that they are activated virtually every time the symbolic unit is invoked. In fact, some relational routines (representing more intrinsic properties) are plausibly analyzed as components of others, making their activation essentially obligatory."⁷⁰ In the case of τὰ ἔθνη, for example, for someone with no access to the cultural encyclopedia which renders intelligible the concept ἔθνος^{NON-JEW}, a sentence such as "he circumcised the nation" would be essentially meaningless, or at best assumed to be some sort of novel metaphor. Additionally, Langacker illustrates how the same predicate may access different domains within the same cultural encyclopedia. Such is the case, for instance, with the word-forms *roe* and *caviar*; while both terms share the same referent (i.e., fish eggs), each word serves as an entry point for a different (though not entirely separate) domain of cultural knowledge.⁷¹

A brief additional note is needed here regarding the "secular" sense of ἔθνος. Drawing upon Social Identity Theory, David Horrell has written extensively on terms for various people groups in antiquity, namely ἔθνος, γένος, and λαός.⁷² According to Horrell, it would be a mistake to attribute a flat meaning of "nation" to the term ἔθνος, since "nationhood" is a modern geopolitical concept:

⁷⁰ Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, 163.

⁷¹ Ibid., 164.

⁷² See Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, esp. 217–48.

If one defines ‘nation’ in terms of the modern (Western) nation-state, then it is clear that nations and nationalisms belong to the world’s modern history and cannot be retrojected into antiquity. On the other hand, if one adopts a broader model of nationhood, then a case can at least be made that some of the various ancient peoples who lived in an ancestral homeland, under some set of laws and customs and a ruler of some kind, constituted a type of nation.⁷³

In fact, according to epigraphical evidence from non-Jewish Greco-Roman sources, it appears that ἔθνος held a decidedly “loose” meaning in antiquity, being applied both to small tribes and large “nations” alike.⁷⁴ This is where a CL perspective may offer a helpful remedy to some of the limitations of Social Identity Theory. Though Horrell does not discuss any of these people terms from a CL perspective, the ambiguity of ἔθνος should come as no surprise, since it confirms the basic CL premise that words receive their meaning from popular usage, relying on *prototypicality* rather than a predetermined and well-defined dictionary meaning.

Regarding the “secular” usage of the term in Greco-Roman society, Horrell concludes (agreeing with Steve Mason), “ἔθνη are often associated with such things as particular laws, customs, ancestral claims, and religious or cultic practices, which together constitute ancestral ways of life.”⁷⁵ The criteria for what constitutes an ἔθνος, then, are closer to our modern concept of “ethnicity” than our modern concept of “nation-state.”⁷⁶ As it will become clear below, Luke uses the term in both its Greco-Roman “secular” sense of “nations/ethnicities,” as well as its Jewish sense of “non-Jews” (i.e., “gentile”).⁷⁷

According to René Dirven and Marjolijn Verspoor, “The vast majority of words in any language have complex and rather language-specific meanings, and this can often be seen as reflecting and embodying the distinctive historical and cultural experiences of the speech community.”⁷⁸ What are the salient

73 Ibid, 219.

74 Ibid, 221–22. See also David Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–27.

75 Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 222, referencing Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38, no. 4/5 (2007), 457–512 (484), and Mason, *Orientation to the History of Roman Judea* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2016), 107.

76 Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 222.

77 Ibid, 225ff.

78 René Dirven and Marjolijn Verspoor, *Cognitive Exploration of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 134.

features, then, of the conceptual category GENTILE for Luke?⁷⁹ And what are the salient features of this model for other early Christian writers like Ignatius or Justin Martyr? The answer, I suggest, may be found in discerning the “points of access” which are activated in the linguistic denotations of “insiders and outsiders” among each author’s writings. The first task, then, is to observe how Luke employs the term and then compare its Luke’s usage to that of other early Christian writers. This comparison may in turn reveal something of the underlying *cultural model* assumed by each writer’s use of ἔθνος.⁸⁰

3.2 *Gentiles, Strangers, Foreskins, Devout Greeks, and the People of God*

While it would be a methodological misstep to attempt to uncover Luke’s “personal feelings” about gentiles, there is nonetheless another route worth pursuing: the question of whether the underlying concepts within Luke’s language itself reveal something about the cultural assumptions he held with respect to non-Jews.⁸¹ The present study is not alone in this approach. Julia Snyder, for instance, has found that the author of Acts attaches lexical modifiers to the word θεός almost exclusively in those instances in which Christ-following characters address non-Christ-following gentiles (e.g. Acts 14:15; 17:23–24; 24:5, 14),⁸² a compositional feature that reveals the necessity of clarifying for gentiles the identity of the “God” to whom these characters are referring in their speeches.⁸³

79 “Something in a perceptual field is salient to the extent that it readily becomes the focus of attention. This may be because it actively attracts attention more than its neighbors or surroundings, or because it requires less cognitive effort to bring it to the center of attention. Linguistic expressions make certain parts of a domain salient by profiling. Of two profiled elements, one may be more salient than the other. Mere mention may enhance salience, hence, the maleness of a father is rendered more salient by describing him as a *male parent* than by describing him as a *father*,” Alan Cruse, *A Glossary of Semantics and Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 154, emphasis original.

80 On cultural models as “cognitive models that are culturally specific,” see Gary B. Palmer, “Cognitive Linguistics and Anthropological Linguistics,” 1045–73 in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. by Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

81 “Evaluation is notoriously variable and subjective, at least relative to conceptual meanings which tend to be more stable within language communities,” Andrew Goatly, “Metaphor as Resource for the Conceptualisation and Expression of Emotion,” 13–25 in *Affective Computing and Sentiment Analysis: Emotion, Metaphor and Terminology*, ed. by Khurshid Ahmad (New York: Springer, 2011), 21.

82 Note, however, the absence of a modifier for ὁ θεός in Peter’s address to Cornelius in Acts 10:28!

83 Snyder, *Language and Identity in Ancient Narratives*, 47–54.

“Words do not really have meanings,” Croft and Cruse argue, “nor do sentences have meanings: meanings are something that we *construe*, using the properties of linguistic elements as partial clues, alongside non-linguistic knowledge, information available from context, knowledge and conjectures regarding the state of mind of hearers and so on.”⁸⁴ In their understanding, the meanings and structural relations of a word cannot be determined by the lexicon, but instead must be parsed according to “actual situations of use” in everyday life.⁸⁵ The use of the term τὰ ἔθνη, as we have seen, does not simply equate to the concept NON-JEW in a one-to-one manner. Encoded within each usage are a host of social and cultural assumptions regarding *both* Jews *and* non-Jews, and Luke’s depiction of the relationship between Jews and gentiles is at best “mixed.”⁸⁶ Luke neither condemns all the *Ioudaioi* nor praises all gentiles.⁸⁷

The term ἔθνος appears in its various lexical forms roughly 13 times in Luke and 43 times in Acts.⁸⁸ Of these 56 or so occurrences, τὰ ἔθνη refers explicitly to the “Jewish nation” or the “Jewish people” roughly eight times.⁸⁹ It is worth noting, however, that despite this application, in Luke and Acts the majority of references to Jews as an ἔθνος appear in the context of a trial before gentile authorities, or when non-Jews are either present or otherwise the focus of the narrative. Luke employs the more ambiguous phrase “all the nations” (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) three times in his gospel (Luke 12:30, 21:24, 24:47) and four times in Acts (Acts 2:5, 10:35, 15:17 [viz. Amos 9:12], 17:26), and uses the similar construction ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους to indicate “the whole nation of the Jews” in Acts 10:22.⁹⁰

84 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 98, emphasis added.

85 Ibid, 97.

86 *pace* Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1971), *passim*; and Jack T. Sanders, “Who Is a Jew and Who Is a Gentile in the Book of Acts,” *NTS* 37, no. 3 (1991), 434–455. Indeed, Sanders here likely overlooks the role that Haenchen’s own anti-Jewish bias may have played in his assessment of Acts.

87 In addition to those Jews whose obedience to Torah Luke praises throughout his gospel see, e.g., the wise Gamaliel in Acts 5:34ff, who is “respected by all the people.” By contrast, Pilate is bloodthirsty (Luke 13:1; Acts 4:27), Gallio ignores the beating of Sosthenes (Acts 18:17), and Antonius Felix is an extortionist (Acts 24:26). See also Joshua Yoder, *Representatives of Roman Rule: Roman Provincial Governors in Luke-Acts*, BZNW 209 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2014).

88 The count differs according to textual variation.

89 Luke 7:5, 23:2; Acts 10:22, 24:2, 24:10, 24:17, 26:4, 28:19.

90 On the phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη as a Semitic idiom, see Harry A. Manhoff, “All of the Kingdoms: Semitic Idiom in the Synoptic Gospels and Related Jewish Literature” (PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2001).

These exceptions aside, however, in the vast majority of cases—some 41 occurrences—τὰ ἔθνη specifically identifies non-Jewish outsiders.⁹¹

In sum, for Luke, those who fall under the rubric of τὰ ἔθνη are characterized as follows: Metaphorically, the nations/gentiles may be said to represent geographical distance (Acts 22:21, 26:20), an example of cognitive construal which places Jerusalem squarely at the epicenter of the Jesus movement and further reinforces the insider/outsider distinction. Gentiles strive after material necessities like clothing, food, and drink (Luke 12:30, in contrast with Jesus's Jewish disciples).⁹² Non-Jews are also apparently inclined toward geopolitical conflict (Luke 21:10), as well as jockeying for recognition and authority (Luke 22:25, once again in contrast to Jesus's disciples).⁹³ They are prone to wantonness or insolence (ἐφρύαξαν, Acts 4:25 [cf. Ps 2:1]), and are easily agitated by a faction of "disobedient" *Ioudaioi* (ἀπειθήσαντες, Acts 14:2).⁹⁴ They are accomplices in the conspiracy to crucify Jesus (Acts 4:27), and pose a threat to the lives of Barnabas and especially Paul (Acts 14:5, 21:11, 26:17). They also represent violent opposition to Jerusalem and its Temple, which they disgrace by "trampling" (πατοῦμένη, Luke 21:24; cf. 1 Macc 4:60 καταπατήσωσιν), and to be handed over to the gentiles is negatively construed as an act of betrayal (Luke 18:32; Acts 21:11).

In Luke's rendition of Jesus's "Sermon on the Plain," the Third Evangelist swaps out Matthew's "gentiles" (οἱ ἔθνη, Matt 5:47) for what seems at

91 E.g., Luke 2:32, where ἔθνων is implicitly contrasted with λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ, and Acts 26:23, where the same contrast is made explicit. According to several Byzantine manuscripts, a number of Georgian and Old Slavonic manuscripts, and several Gk minuscules, Acts 13:42 features an additional use of ἔθνη in describing the enthusiastic audience of Paul and Barnabas at the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch: παρεκαλουν τα εθνη εις το μεταξυ σαββατον. For a list of the linguistic data analyzed in this section, see Appendix below.

92 "Admonishing his own, Jesus labels the disciples ὀλιγόπιστοι and implies their assent with the norms of the nations of the world as an outgroup (12:28–30). In this way he accomplishes two things. On the one hand, this expresses two constructs of reality, one that pertains to God's children ('your Father,' 12:30, 32) and the other to all the nations of the world. Second, the rhetoric is a pseudo-shaming strategy to strengthen ingroup identity ... Any suspicions that Jesus expects necessities of life to be miraculously provided is dispelled by the way of life in the βασιλεία of God (12:31), in which humans strive for the collective well-being of all, characterized by allocative economics, which stands in contrast to the dynamics of the "nations (ἔθνη) of the world," Robert L. Brawley, *Luke: A Social Identity Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 132.

93 In context, it appears that Jesus's observation that the rulers of the nations are called "doers of good works" (εὐεργέτης) should be taken ironically or sarcastically.

94 On disobedience (ἀπειθήτης) as characteristic Lukan language, see Marie-Émile Boismard and Arnaud Lamouille, *Le Texte occidental des actes des apôtres: Reconstitution et réhabilitation*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 1984), 38; and Frans Neirynck, "Le texte des Actes des Apôtres et les caractéristiques stylistiques lucaniennes," *ETL* 61 (1985), 304–39.

first a slightly less polemical, more universal term, “sinners” (οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, Luke 6:32–34). Yet Luke also uses the term “gentiles” in a pejorative sense (e.g., Luke 18:31–33; 21:24; 22:24–27; Acts 21:11), and depicts more than a few non-Jews rejecting Paul’s message (Acts 13:50; 14:2, 4–5; 18:4; 19:10–20). Moreover, it is also worth noting that for Paul at least, “gentiles” and “sinners” were virtually synonymous (cf. Gal. 2:15).⁹⁵ It would appear to be similar for Luke: In Paul’s defense before Agrippa in Acts 26:17–18, for example, Paul relates how he was sent to the gentiles so that he may “open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God [and] receive forgiveness of sins ...” This characterization presupposes the view, of course, that the “resting state” of non-Jews is that of captivity to the cosmic forces of sin and death.

On the other hand, Luke acknowledges that all the nations share a common ancestor with the *Ioudaioi* (Acts 17:26), and while God once looked upon the non-Jewish nations with a kind of apathetic permissiveness (Acts 14:16)⁹⁶ and perhaps even wrathful judgment (Acts 7:7, 7:45, 13:19), gentiles are also in need of divine revelation (Luke 2:32; Acts 13:47, 26:23) and now play a key role in the eschatological “plan of God” (Luke 21:24).⁹⁷ Following the events that unfold in Jerusalem immediately after Jesus’s crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, gentiles become the target audience for the divine message given to Peter (Acts 15:7) and to Paul (Acts 9:15, 13:46, 18:6, 26:17). To this end, gentiles are also witnesses of God’s “signs and wonders” (Acts 15:3, 15:12, 15:17, 21:19, 21:25), and are somewhat surprisingly recipients of the holy spirit (Acts 10:45), the word of God (Acts 11:1), and the salvific “repentance that leads to life” (Luke 24:47; Acts 11:18, 15:19, 28:28), which they may now enter through the “door of faithfulness” that God has opened to them (Acts 14:27).

As I have argued above, however, a simple statistical survey of occurrences of the term ἔθνος/τὰ ἔθνη alone is insufficient to construct a robust conceptual model of non-Jews in Lukan perspective. If we broaden the scope to include all non-Jewish “outsiders,” however—regardless of whether the term ἔθνος

95 Matthew Thiessen, “The Construction of Gentiles in the Letter to the Ephesians,” 13–25 in *The Early Reception of Paul the Second Temple Jew: Text, Narrative and Reception History*, ed. by Isaac W. Oliver and Gabriele Boccaccini, LSTS 92 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 14–15. See also Pamela Eisenbaum, *Paul Was Not a Christian* (New York: HarperOne, 2009), 6.

96 Cf. Rom 1:18ff., in which God “hands over” the gentiles to their own vices for the sin of idolatry.

97 On which, see John T. Squires, *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), esp. 184ff.

actually appears in the text—we must add the following considerations to Luke's GENTILE ICM, as well.

Luke and Acts feature several other words and phrases that also fall under the semantic domain of “outsider”. These words include: πολῖτων (“citizens,” Luke 15:15);⁹⁸ ἄλλογενής (“other,” or “foreigner,” Luke 17:18);⁹⁹ πάροικος (an “exile,” or “resident alien,” Acts 7:29); ἀλλόφυλος (“foreigner,” Acts 10:28);¹⁰⁰ ἀκροβυστίαν (“foreskin,” Acts 11:3); δῆμος (“people,” or “crowd,” Acts 12:22, 17:5, 19:30, 19:33);¹⁰¹ and ξένος (“foreign,” “strange,” Acts 17:18, 21).¹⁰² Luke also occasionally uses the term αἵρεσις to describe various Jewish factions, including the Sadducees (Acts 5:17), Christ-following Pharisees (Acts 15:5, 26:5), and “Nazarenes” (Acts 24:5, 28:22), although—if Luke shares the views of his protagonist—it appears that he may have rejected the term as an appropriate label for Christ-worshippers (i.e. Acts 24:14, κατὰ τὴν Ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν, “... according to the Way, which *they* call a sect ...”).¹⁰³

98 Presumably these “citizens” are gentile, as they are raising swine. Additionally, without ever using the term τὰ ἔθνη in this passage, Luke highlights the metaphorical and geographical distance between Jews and gentiles in distant lands (χώραν μακράν, 15:13). More importantly, if this is true, it may be that Luke implicitly associates these non-Jews with the sort of “dissolute living” (ζῶν ἀσώτως) that so entices the youngest son.

99 The meaning of this term is disputed, its translation rendered even more difficult by the fact that it is a hapax legomenon in the NT. For the most extensive lexicographical analysis of ἄλλογενής to date, see Annette Weissenrieder, “On the Linguistic Tradition of ἄλλογενής,” 195–209 in Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke: Insights of Ancient Medical Texts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). The people term γένος occurs seven times in Acts, with a comparatively wide range of referents (Acts 4:6, 4:36, 7:13, 7:19, 13:26, 17:28, 17:29, 18:2, and 18:24).

100 Arie van der Kooij, “On the Use of ἀλλόφυλος in the Septuagint,” 401–8 in *xv Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Munich, 2013*, ed. by Wolfgang Kraus, et al. (Atlanta: SBL, 2016). In *P. Polit. Iud.* 1.8, a certain Andronikos complains that Nikarchos has insulted him in front of ἀλλοφύλων. cf., however, Rob Kugler, “What Really Troubled Andronikos? A Note on *P. Polit. Iud.* 1,” 673–87 in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. by Joel Baden et al. (Boston: Brill, 2016).

101 Used almost exclusively of gentile crowds.

102 Elsewhere in the NT, ξένος typically describes non-Jewish “foreigners” (e.g., Matt 25:35–44, 27:7; Eph 2:12, 2:19; Heb 11:13, 13:9; 1 Pet 4:12; 3 John 1:5). This is the term’s connotation in Acts 17:21; in Acts 17:17, however, Luke places the word on the lips of Epicureans and Stoics in Athens, who take Paul to be a “proclaimer of foreign divinities”.

103 Emphasis added. Albert Baumgarten defines “sect” thus: “A voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms—the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders—to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious identity. Ancient Jewish sects, accordingly, differentiated between Jews who were members of their sect and those not,” Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era* (Leiden: SBL, 1997), 7. See also Joan E. Taylor, “The Nazoreans as a ‘Sect’ in ‘Sectarian’ Judaism?”

Among these terms, ἀλλογενής and ἀλλόφυλος are unique to Luke in the NT corpus. A hapax legomenon in the NT, ἀλλοφύλω (Acts 10:28) appears most frequently in early Jewish literature to indicate non-Jewish “foreigners” who are antagonistic toward the “ancestral customs of the Jews” (e.g., Philo, *Embassy* 200).¹⁰⁴ Luke only ever uses the term φυλή in reference to the Twelve Tribes (Luke 2:36, 22:30; Acts 13:21), so the appearance of ἀλλόφυλος in Acts 10:28 almost certainly evokes a meaning equivalent to that of ἔθνος.

The term ἀκροβυστίαν in Acts 11:3 is particularly suggestive, found only in the LXX (e.g., Gen 17:11, 34:14), NT (Rom 2:25, 3:30, 4:9–12; 1 Cor 7:18–19; Gal 2:7, 5:6, 6:15; Col 2:13, 3:11; and Eph 2:11), and among a few later Christian sources (e.g., Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 19.3), but nowhere else in secular Greek literature.¹⁰⁵ In Acts, Peter is accosted in Jerusalem by members of the circumcision faction (περιτομῆς), who level the following accusation at him: “You went to foreskin-having men and ate with them!” (Εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ συνέφαγες αὐτοῖς).

Obvious labels for “converts” or “proselytes” occur comparatively few times in Luke and Acts, with προσήλυτος appearing just three times (Acts 2:10, 6:5, and 13:43). The terms φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν (“godfearers”) and σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (“god-reverencers”) are distinctly Lukan, appearing nowhere else in the New Testament. Yet the contention that these terms amount to “technical distinctions” which identify a group of gentile Jewish sympathizers has been a matter of dispute for decades.¹⁰⁶ Recently, Jason Staples has argued that the

A Reconsideration of the Current View via the Narrative of Acts and the Meaning of *Hairesis*,” 87–117 in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, ed. by Sacha Stern (Boston: Brill, 2011).

104 BDAG 48. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 1.21.1, *War* 5.5.2; T. 12 Patr. 9:10, 22:2; T. Sol. 6:4 (MS P). The term also came to refer to the biblical Canaanite nations (e.g., Acts Paul 8:13, 15 [*PHamb*]), specifically the Philistines (e.g., Acts 13:19 [D-text]; 1 Clem. 4.13), as well as other foreigners (Amalekites in Barn. 12.2; Assyrians and their allies in 1 Clem. 55.4 [cf. Judith 6:1; Diogn. 5.17]).

105 BDAG, 39. Compare ἀκροποσθία in Hippocrates, *Aph.* 6.19; and Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 1.13, 3.6, and *Part. an.* 2.13. Strangely, Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga do not include entries for either ἀλλοφύλω or ἀκροβυστίαν in their compendium of characteristic Lukan vocabulary.

106 See L.H. Feldman, “Jewish ‘Sympathizers’ in Classical Literature and Inscriptions,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LXXXI (1950), 200–8; Max Wilcox, “The ‘God-Fearers’ in Acts: A Reconsideration,” *JSNT* 13 (1981), 102–22. See also Ross Kraemer’s work on the use of θεοσεβείς as an *emic* Jewish term for those who befriended and supported their community in Kraemer, “Giving Up the Godfearers,” 169–99 in *Crossing Boundaries in Early Judaism and Christianity: Ambiguities, Complexities, and Half-Forgotten Adversaries*, ed. by Kimberly B. Stratton and Andrea Lieber (Boston: Brill, 2016), esp. 198. For a contrasting perspective, see Paula Fredriksen, “If It Looks Like a Duck, and It Quacks Like a Duck ...: On Not Giving Up the Godfearers,” 25–34 in

epigraphical evidence in antiquity in fact weighs *against* the designation of “godfearers” as a clearly identifiable demographic in antiquity.¹⁰⁷ Staples’s thesis is bolstered by Luke’s own application of the term, which is inconsistent and inexact. In Acts 9:31, for instance, Judeans, Galileans, and Samaritans “live in fear of the Lord [τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ Κυρίου] and in the comfort of the holy spirit.”¹⁰⁸ Moreover, although the NRSV obfuscates the Greek by the addition of the word “others,” Acts 13:16b and 13:26 suggest that Luke also includes Israelites among “those who fear God.”¹⁰⁹

Luke also employs a number of terms which are typically found in Jewish writings and used to disparage gentiles, but which in Luke’s account do not appear in proximity to explicit terms of belonging/unbelonging. ἀνόμων (= “lawless”), a term occasionally applied to gentiles in Jewish literature (LXX Isa 10:6; Wis 17:2; 3 Macc 6:9; *Ag. Ap.* 2.151–2;¹¹⁰ 1 Cor 9:21)¹¹¹ occurs once in Luke (“he was numbered among the lawless,” 22:37) and once in Acts (2:24, where NRSV has “those outside the law”).¹¹² Additionally, in Acts 14:15–16, Paul refers to the sacrificial activities of the priest of Zeus and the gentile crowd

A Most Reliable Witness: Essays in Honor of Ross Shephard Kraemer, ed. by S.A. Harvey, et al., BJS 358 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2015). It could be argued, perhaps, that whether or not “godfearers” constitute a technical category for Luke is ultimately irrelevant, since Luke defines the category of Jewishness as contingent upon one’s *obedience* to God’s will.

107 Jason A. Staples, “‘Rise, Kill, and Eat’: Animals as Nations in Early Jewish Visionary Literature and Acts 10,” *JSNT* 42, no. 1 (2019), 4n1.

108 Cf. Sir 2:7ff. According to Jervell, Luke does not characterize Samaritans as gentiles: See *Luke and the People of God*, 113–32: “There ought to be no doubt that Luke regards the Samaritans as Jews” (123).

109 Significantly, in both P⁴⁵ and Codex Vaticanus the καὶ in Acts 13:26 is omitted, so that Paul addresses Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν. I am grateful to my friend and colleague Andrew Guffey for bringing this text-critical point to my attention.

110 The lawlessness of the nations (compared with the law-abidance of the Judeans) comprises a recurring theme throughout the second book of Josephus’s *Against Apion*, e.g., 2.176–7 (Καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους νόμους ζῆν, ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς οὐδ’ ἴσασιν. “Indeed, most men, so far from living in accordance with their own laws, hardly know what they are!” [Thackeray, LCL]), Gunnar Haaland, “Jewish Laws for a Roman Audience: Toward an Understanding of Contra Apionem,” *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Brüssel* (1998), 282–304 (298). See also David Lincicum, Ruth Sheridan, and Charles Stang, eds., *Law and Lawlessness in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, WUNT 420 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), *passim*.

111 See also Mart. Pol. 9.2, discussed below. If E. Leigh Gibson is correct in her assessment of Mart. Pol. as a text that was produced within a “Jewish-Christian continuum with disputed or porous boundaries,” the description of the gentile crowd as “lawless” further supports my argument here.

112 See Hacham, “Hidden and Public Transcript,” 188.

in Lystra as μάταιος (“vain”), which also may be found among early Jewish descriptions of the worship practices of gentiles (see LXX Lev 17:7; LXX Jer 2:5, 8:19; LXX Hos 6:8;¹¹³ LXX Amos 2:4;¹¹⁴ 3 Macc 6:11; but see also 1 Pet 1:18!).¹¹⁵ Furthermore, the Lukan Paul urges these gentiles in Lystra to abandon their “vain” worship and turn instead to the “Living God” of Israel (ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα), a phrase which Jill Hicks-Keeton has shown to have held discursive power in early Roman-era Jewish literature, specifically concerning *the regulation of gentile access to Jewish identity*.¹¹⁶ Somewhat surprisingly, however, Acts receives only a single mention in Hicks-Keeton’s work, and Paul’s exhortation to the pagan Lystrans in Acts 14:15 is altogether absent.

As Matthew Thiessen has illustrated, “Non-Jews did not lump themselves together with a phrase that obliterated the numerous differences between Parthians, Arabs, Greeks, Romans, and so on. This was a distinctly Jewish category, one that denied any significance to the manifold differences that existed among non-Jews.”¹¹⁷ In the intersection between cognitive linguistics and Social Identity Theory, this is a textbook example of what is known as the *out-group homogeneity effect*, in which members of an in-group share the collective tendency to recognize subtle differences between individuals belonging to the same group, while simultaneously minimizing the complexity and diversity found among those considered to be outsiders.¹¹⁸ This is precisely what we find in Luke’s narration of the events at Pentecost (Acts 2:5), during which time “Parthians, Medes, Elamites, residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, visitors from Rome, Cretans, and Arabs” gather in Jerusalem for the festival. Yet what do all these people have in common? They are *devout Jews from every nation under heaven living in Jerusalem*. That is, the diversity of this crowd is not actually defined by their cultural variety, but instead by their shared Jewish piety. Similarly, Luke parses Israel itself into both “obedient” and “disobedient” factions, and in some cases negotiates which characters

113 According to Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009), 443, both Cyril of Alexandria and Theophylact understood Hosea to be connecting *vanity* with the material production of idols.

114 Note here Amos’s contrast between τὰ μάταια (“vain things”) and νόμον κυρίου (“the law of the Lord”).

115 Hacham, “Hidden and Public Transcript,” 193n34.

116 See Jill Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth: Gentile Access to Israel’s Living God in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), *passim*.

117 Thiessen, “The Construction of Gentiles,” 14.

118 See Kudła, *Attributive Ethnonyms*, 89ff.

may rightfully claim in-group status.¹¹⁹ By contrast, Luke tends to use terms like δῆμος or ὄχλος to refer to gentile crowds, collapsing geographic and social distinctions between non-Jewish individuals.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in contrast to the gentiles, Luke generally appears to be much more concerned with the concept of the “People of God”. Λαός appears 36 times in the Gospel of Luke and 48 times in Acts.¹²⁰ Of these, the vast majority unambiguously refer either to Israel or to the *Ioudaioi*.¹²¹ Three times, ἔθνος is used in explicit contrast to the λαός Ἰσραήλ

119 See Luke 19:9, in which the Lukan Jesus claims that Zacchaeus is “also” (καί) a son of Abraham. If Jesus were speaking to a crowd of gentiles, Luke’s addition of καί here would confuse the reader.

120 On Luke’s use of λαός, see Jerome Kodell, “Luke’s Use of ‘Laos,’ ‘People,’ Especially in the Jerusalem Narrative (Lk 19,28–24, 53),” *CBQ* 31, no. 3 (1969), 327–43. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 226, observes the distinctly Jewish sense of Luke’s use of λαός which is found not only in the LXX but also throughout the writings of Josephus and Philo. Horrell also observes that there are two instances in Acts where λαός appears to refer to gentile followers of the Way (Acts 15:14 and 18:10), but considers this ambiguous evidence insufficient to suggest that Luke thought of Christ-followers as a distinct people group (229). In fact, by Horrell’s reckoning there are only two examples in the entire NT which refer to followers of Jesus in people terms that are generally reserved for gentiles: Matt 21:43 and 1 Pet 2:9–10; see Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 230ff.

121 On the use of Ἰσραήλ elsewhere in the NT, see Lutz Doering, “‘You are a Chosen Stock ...’: The Use of Israel Epithets for the Addressees in First Peter,” 243–76 in *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities in the Roman World*, ed. by Yair Furstenberg (Boston: Brill, 2016); and Jason A. Staples, *The Idea of Israel in Second Temple Judaism: A New Theory of People, Exile, and Israelite Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). A full analysis of Luke’s characterization of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is outside the scope of this book. The path of study, however, is well-worn: See Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1979); Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); Joseph B. Tyson, ed., *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988); Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992); idem, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999); Lawrence M. Wills, “The Depiction of the Jews in Acts,” *JBL* 110, no. 4 (1991), 631–54; Stephen G. Wilson, “Jew’ and Related Terms in the Ancient World,” *Studies in Religion* 33, no. 2 (2004), 157–171; Terence L. Donaldson, *Jews and Anti-Judaism in the New Testament: Decision Points and Divergent Interpretations* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010); Amy-Jill Levine, “Luke and the Jewish Religion,” *Int* 68, no. 4 (2014), 389–402; Mark S. Kinzer, *Jerusalem Crucified, Jerusalem Risen: The Resurrected Messiah, the Jewish People, and the Land of Promise* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2018); and Jason Moraff, “‘Among My Own Nation’: Reading ‘The Jews’ in Acts within Judaism” (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2021). For a recent survey and evaluation of similarly relevant research, see Moraff, “Recent Trends in the Study of Jews and Judaism in Luke-Acts,” *CurBR* 19, no. 1 (2020), 64–87.

(Luke 2:32; Acts 26:17, 26:23).¹²² According to Jervell, “Luke is the only New Testament author to speak of ‘sins against the people, Israel’ [Acts 21:28, 28:17] ... [For Luke,] *nomos* and *laos* are inextricably connected, so that speaking against the law is speaking against the people, and speaking against the people is speaking against the law.”¹²³ There are four ambiguous usages of *λαός* in Luke/Acts. Two of these occur in Luke’s gospel: Luke 2:31 (πάντων τῶν λαῶν);¹²⁴ and Luke 6:17, in which the gathered crowd includes residents of the coast of Tyre and Sidon. The remaining two ambiguous usages of *λαός* occur in Luke’s second volume. Acts 4:25 includes a direct quotation from Ps 2:1, which contains a poetic parallelism comparing “the gentiles” with “the peoples.”¹²⁵ Lastly, in his speech before the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15, James observes that God has “looked favorably on the gentiles, to take from among them a people for his name” (15:14).¹²⁶

122 On the use of *λαός* and *γένος* as a social contrast with *ἔθνος* in ancient Jewish society, see Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 224–228.

123 Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 168. To Jervell’s assessment we may also add the central importance of the Jerusalem Temple for Luke. See, e.g., George P. Carras, “Jewish Sensibilities and the Search for the Jewish Paul—The Lukan Paul Viewed through Josephine Judaism: Interplay with *Apion* 2:190–219,” 167–78 in *The Early Reception of Paul the Second Temple Jew: Text, Narrative and Reception History*, ed. by Isaac W. Oliver; and esp. Eyal Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 153–96.

124 Note the presence of the biblical Hebraic idiom, *κατὰ πρόσωπον* (“before the face of”).

125 In context, it would appear that Luke reads these groups as separate entities, because he follows in v.27 with an indictment of both Jews *and* gentiles for the death of Jesus.

126 See Nils A. Dahl, “A People for His Name’: (Acts 15.14)” *NTS* 4 (1957–58), 319–327. See also Isaac Oliver’s treatment of *λαός* in Acts 15:14 in *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 66ff. Among other “insider” terms with a generally positive valence, Luke employs υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ (“Son of Abraham”) or similar phrases eight times (Luke 1:55, 1:73, 3:8, 13:16, 19:9; Acts 3:25, 7:2, 13:26), and υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ (“Sons of Israel”) four times (Luke 1:6; Acts 7:23, 7:37, and 9:15). See also Luke 16:19–31, which, although the phrase υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ never appears there explicitly, nonetheless contains several obvious allusions to the concept. On “children of Abraham” in Luke/Acts, see Dorota Hartman, “The ‘Children of Abraham’ in Luke-Acts,” *Henoch* 39, no. 2 (2017), 351–65; and Eric Noffke, “Being Children of Abraham: Salvation ‘By Belonging’ in the New Testament,” 488–98 in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. by J. Harold Ellens, et al. (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018). See also Jacob Jervell, “The Daughters of Abraham: Women in Acts,” 146–57 in *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1984).

3.3 *The Lukan ἔθνος 1CM: Peter's Vision (Acts 10:9ff.)*

My analysis above closely follows Yair Furstenberg's characterization of Jewish sectarianism in the Second-Temple period. During this time, Furstenberg writes, "major groups within Jewish society in Palestine converted their ethnic identity into sectarian concepts of belonging. These groups distinguished between 'insider' and 'outsider' in terms of purity—pure and impure, while at the same time blurring the prevailing contrast between Jew and non-Jew."¹²⁷ Before we proceed to a discussion of how other early Christian writers roughly contemporary with Luke conceptualize τὰ ἔθνη, it is critical for us first to consider the clearest example of Luke's construal of the concept in either of his two narratives: Peter's vision in Acts 10:9ff. and his subsequent meeting with Cornelius.

Acts 10 alone contributes a wealth of information that is useful for mapping the Lukan ἔθνος 1CM. Jason Staples has recently highlighted how this chapter in particular serves as an interpretive key for the book of Acts as a whole:

Does Acts here indicate that the dietary laws have been abrogated (something he does not elsewhere claim; note 15:20, 29) or merely that the gospel should be extended to gentiles? Are Jews and gentiles to be incorporated together in a 'dual identity' model, or are they to be assimilated together by Jews giving up their dietary and purity strictures? And why is a vision about animals and food so naturally understood as addressing human relationships in the narrative?¹²⁸

Here Luke unveils a cluster of several interesting conceptual metaphors that appear to be operating in Acts 10, including PEOPLE ARE FOOD, THE NATIONS ARE ANIMALS, THE NATIONS ARE UNCLEAN, and, ultimately, NON-JEWS ARE UNCLEAN (κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, Acts 10:14, 28).¹²⁹ In fact, as Staples convincingly argues, the metaphorical characterization of gentiles as unclean or as wild animals is a recurring motif in early Jewish literature of the

¹²⁷ Yair Furstenberg, "The Shared Dimensions of Jewish and Christian Communal Identities," 1–21 in *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities in the Roman World*, ed. by Yair Furstenberg (Boston: Brill, 2016), 3.

¹²⁸ Staples, "Rise, Kill, and Eat," 5.

¹²⁹ References to ἀκάθαρτος in Peter's vision narrative found in Acts 10:14, 10:28, and 11:8 are the only usages of ἀκάθαρτος in Luke or Acts that do not refer specifically to "spirits of religious defilement," or "unclean spirits" (πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον). See Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga, *The Vocabulary of Luke*, 20. Franklyn Collison finds this phrasing to be characteristic of Luke; See Collison, "Linguistic Usages in the Gospel of Luke" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 1977), 171.

Second-Temple period.¹³⁰ To name just one example: For the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* (ca. third century BCE–first century CE), distinguishing between clean and unclean animals offers a kind of symbolic “hedge” that marks the path toward righteous living; for the author, this symbolism helps to explain “why we [Jews] are distinct from all other men ... [who] defile themselves in their relationships, thereby committing a serious offense, and lands and whole cities take pride in it” (Let. Aris. 151–3).¹³¹ He ultimately concludes, “In the matter of meats, the unclean reptiles, the beasts, the whole underlying rationale is directed toward righteousness and righteous human relationships” (Let. Aris. 169).¹³² Staples points to additional early Jewish texts like 1 Enoch, Daniel, 4 Ezra, The Testament of Naphtali, and even the Revelation to John—each of these texts contains visionary narrative sequences that conceptualize gentiles as wild or unclean animals.

In short, what the conceptual metaphors in this episode tell us is that Luke is aware that the mere presence of an ἔθνος (or, perhaps, an ἄλλοφύλος) is capable of inviting ritual impurity or defilement (Acts 10:14, 28; see also Luke 21:24; Acts 21:28, and 24:6).¹³³ Indeed, Luke appears to appreciate the *novelty* of gentile acceptance into the early Jesus-following movement: In his framing of the issue of Jewish/gentile relations in terms of cleanliness and profanity, Luke nowhere suggests that Torah has been rescinded. Rather, Luke explains this theological and ethical shift as a matter of special revelation to Peter (i.e., “God has shown me,” καί μοι ὁ Θεὸς ἔδειξεν, Acts 10:28). Crucially, however, for Luke this connection between gentiles and ritual impurity remains *implicit*. That is, while Luke acknowledges that fraternization between Jews and non-Jews is commonly understood to be unlawful, he never explicitly “connects the dots”

130 “Throughout early Jewish visionary literature, to have a vision of animals was to see the nations in symbolic form ... This visionary trope is also regularly connected to allegorical understandings of the food laws, which functioned to maintain the distinction between Jews and other nations,” Staples, “Rise, Kill, and Eat,” 5; See also John R.L. Moxon, *Peter’s Halakhic Nightmare: The “Animal” Vision of Acts 10:9–16 in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Perspective* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). On the comparison of Jews to domesticated animals and gentiles to wild beasts, see Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford, 2006), 58–62; and Mira Beth Wasserman, *Jews, Gentiles, and Other Animals: The Talmud after the Humanities* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 73–119.

131 James Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 23.

132 Ibid., 24.

133 Though see 180n107 above. On the rhetorical purpose of these passages and the view that the καὶ in Acts 10:14 should be translated as “and” rather than “or,” see Mikeal C. Parsons, “‘Nothing Defiled AND Unclean’: The Conjunction’s Function in Acts 10:14,” *PRSt* 27, no. 3 (2000), 263–74.

between unlawfulness, ritual impurity, and Jews associating with gentiles.¹³⁴ Rather, this is left entirely for the reader to assume. While it was common knowledge that Jews in antiquity avoided pork, non-Jewish Greek and Roman authors apparently understood little else about Jewish dietary customs. As Shaye Cohen notes, these gentile writers

do not comment on the Jewish aversion to the meat of various other animals, fish, and birds. Nor do they comment on the prohibition of eating animal blood. They also do not connect the Jewish aversion to pork with Jewish antisocial behavior; that is, many authors accuse the Jews of misanthropy and social segregation, including separation at table ('they sit apart at meals,' Tacitus says), but these antisocial tendencies are not said to explain, or to be explained by, the Jewish refusal to eat pork ... As for the rest of the purity requirements of the Torah (purification before entering the temple after contacting a corpse, a dead impure animal, a menstruant, etc.) ... Greek and Latin authors know nothing.¹³⁵

Crucially, Luke's awareness of the potential for gentiles to communicate ritual impurity lacks any equivalence in the writings of Justin Martyr, as we shall see next.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ As Staples notes, commentators as early as Origen (*Hom. Lev.* 7.4) have remarked on this disjunct in Luke's narrative. Staples, "Rise, Kill, and Eat," 4.

¹³⁵ Shaye J.D. Cohen, "Common Judaism in Greek and Latin Authors," 69–87 in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. by Fabian E. Udoh, et al. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 77.

¹³⁶ By my count, ἀκάθαρτος appears just eight times across the 142 chapters of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. Three times, Justin refers to an "unclean spirit" (ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος, 7.3, 82.3, 93.1), but appears to understand this phrase in the sense of a "spirit of error" or "false teaching," rather than of ritual defilement. In discussing the cleansing of sin by baptism in metaphorical terms, Justin also refers to "unclean hands" (καθαρὰς οὐκ ἔχει χεῖρας, 12.3), and twice quotes from LXX Isaiah: "touch no unclean thing" (ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἄψησθαι, 13.2 [viz. Isa 52:11]); "we have all become as one unclean" (ἐγενόμεθα ἀκάθαρτοι πάντες, 25.4 [viz. Isa 64:6]). The most curious case is found in *Dial.* 20.3–4, in which ἀκάθαρτος appears twice. Here, Justin uses the same language (κοινὰ ἢ ἀκάθαρτα) that Peter uses in Acts 10:14 to protest the unclean food offered to him in his vision (κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον). It appears, however, that where Luke goes on to explain the meaning of Peter's vision as pertaining not to *food*, but rather to *people* (namely, Jews associating with gentiles, Acts 10:28), Justin's use of this phrasing remains solely in the conceptual domain of Jewish dietary law, which he takes to further illustrate the superiority of gentile Christianity to Judaism on two accounts: First, gentiles only avoid eating certain plants if they are inedible or not suited to their tastes (*Dial.* 20.3); second, Justin argues that the only reason God proscribed the eating of certain animals in the Mosaic covenant was so that the Israelites

3.4 Section Summary and Conclusion

Language and cognition are ultimately inseparable from cultural context. As Stephen Shead has suggested, “even if there is a broad semantic category corresponding to the ‘true meaning’ of a term, which is contextually shaped and specified in each individual use, this semantic category cannot be dissociated from encyclopedic knowledge and experience of the world. Even in a minimal, default context, various aspects of a person’s ‘cultural knowledge’ will contribute to the meaning evoked.”¹³⁷ Cognitive linguistics therefore offers a new way of understanding the writings of the New Testament, and Luke and Acts represent particularly intriguing cases. We conclude, therefore, that a study which takes seriously the contiguity and coherence of Luke’s characterization of non-Jews strongly suggests that the author conceptualized gentiles from within a Jewish cultural perspective.¹³⁸ Or, to use Istvan Kecskes’s terminology, we might say that Luke’s encyclopedic knowledge of Jews and gentiles closely adheres to that of a first-century Jewish cultural model.¹³⁹ It is essential to recognize, however, that Luke’s ἔθνος ICM is not a binary, but a gradient: For Luke, a spectrum exists between the concepts of JEW and GENTILE, as Jacob Jervell suggested half a century ago. Upon this spectrum may be plotted, “obedient Jews,” “disobedient Jews,” “devout gentiles,” and (for lack of a better term) “pagan gentiles,” among others. For Luke, however, these terms had not yet been polemicized to the extent that they would eventually become in later Christian patristic literature.¹⁴⁰

would not worship the animals they were forbidden to eat, as they worshiped the golden calf at Sinai (*Dial.* 20.4).

137 Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 41.

138 See also William Croft, who understands conceptual contiguity in terms of “encyclopedic knowledge representation within a domain or domain matrix,” Croft, “The Role of Domains in the Interpretation of Metaphors and Metonymies” 161–206 in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, ed. by René Dirven and Ralf Pörings (New York: de Gruyter, 2003).

139 Kecskes, “Encyclopaedic Knowledge and Cultural Models”.

140 See David Horrell’s examples in *Ethnicity and Inclusion*, 235–46. “It is entirely understandable that such language is barely evident in the New Testament itself, and then only through the appropriation of scriptural phrases, since what came to be a movement with a distinct sense of its own self-identity over against both Jews and gentiles began as a messianic Jewish movement that understood itself not as a new or distinct ‘people’ but rather, in diverse ways, as playing a role in the fulfillment of Israel’s eschatological hopes, including the salvation of the gentiles” (245).

4 τὰ ἔθνη in Other Early Christian Writings

Luke's use of τὰ ἔθνη is conspicuously distinct from similar writings by his Christian near-contemporaries. Having highlighted the contours of a textually grounded ICM of Luke's characterization of τὰ ἔθνη, it is now possible to compare it with the semantic footprint of the term as it appears in other early apostolic writings roughly contemporary with Luke and Acts. What follows is by no means an exhaustive comparison; rather, I have opted to address those texts specifically in which Jewish/Christian relations comprise a dominant theme.

Unsurprisingly, most references to τὰ ἔθνη among the early apostolic fathers are to be found in the context of direct quotations from scripture. This is almost exclusively the case in the Clementine epistles, the Didache, and Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, each of which makes frequent references to Israel's scriptures,¹⁴¹ and occasionally the New Testament writings.¹⁴²

The word "gentiles" appears once in Ignatius of Antioch's *Letter to the Trallians* (8.2), and once in Ign. *Smyrn.* 1.2.¹⁴³ At the same time, however, Ignatius also self-consciously engages in the work of establishing a new and distinctly *Christian* identity, and takes pride in labeling himself a Χριστιανός in a way that Luke never voices for himself or other Christ-worshippers (e.g., Ign. *Magn.* 4.1 *et passim*).¹⁴⁴ Indeed, for Ignatius, unlike Luke, for a person to resist this self-designation is to abdicate altogether their claim to belong to the People of God (Ign. *Magn.* 10.1). Furthermore, Ignatius argues that Christians should not observe the sabbath (Ign. *Magn.* 9.1) and insists that for any Christian to practice "Judaism" (Ἰουδαϊσμόν) is "perverse" (ἄτοπόν, Ign. *Magn.* 10.3). As I

141 E.g., 1 Clem. 10.3 (Gen 12:2), 36.4 (Ps 2:8), 53.3 (Deut 9:12ff.), 59.4 (Isa 37:20).

142 E.g., Did. 1.3 (Matt 5:47); Pol. *Phil.* 10.2 (1 Pet 2:12); 2 Clem 13.2 (Rom 2:24, Isa 52:5). For a comparison of social categories and household codes among the Apostolic Fathers and the household codes of the Pauline epistles, see Jonathan Lookadoo, "Categories, Relationships and Imitation in the Household Codes of 1 Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp: A Comparison with Household Codes in the Pauline Corpus," *Neot* 53, no. 1 (2019), 31–52.

143 Unless noted otherwise, all quotations taken from Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

144 See Tobias Nicklas, "Living as a 'Christian': Christian Ethos according to the Writings of Ignatius of Antioch," 537–54 in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. by Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster (Boston: Brill, 2015), "[Ignatius's] discussion of proper Christian behavior comes in the context of attention to two closely related problems: his concern for unity within Christian communities ... and his attempt to construct one proper Christian identity by drawing boundaries that exclude 'others,' including non-Christians, Christians too close to what Ignatius calls 'Judaism,' and Christians who do not share his precise doctrine of salvation" (554).

have shown in chapter 5, this view of Jewish law—and especially of Sabbath observance—is antithetical to that of the author of Luke/Acts.¹⁴⁵

Likely writing during the reign of Hadrian in the early second century, the author of the Epistle of Barnabas maintains a sharp distinction between “us” and “them” (e.g., Barn. 5.2), though who exactly the pseudonymous author believes “them” to be is a matter of longstanding debate.¹⁴⁶ Sixty years ago, Simeon Lowy observed that the author of Barnabas set out to prove that “there was never a Jewish covenant and that, consequently ... all Jewish hopes were based on a misunderstanding.”¹⁴⁷ By contrast, Julien Smith argues that the author of the epistle was writing from within a mixed Jewish/gentile Christian milieu.¹⁴⁸ Whatever the case may be, fully five of the seven occurrences of ἔθνος/τὰ ἔθνη in Barnabas appear in the context of direct citations of scripture.¹⁴⁹ The remaining two occurrences—in addition to a third allusion—deserve further attention. In Barn. 13.7, the author uses Pauline logic to dispute the “true heirs” of the divine covenant, referring to Abraham as the

145 See also Daniel Boyarin, “Why Ignatius Invented Judaism,” 309–23 in Lori Baron, et al., eds., *The Ways that Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus* (Atlanta: SBL, 2018).

146 On the date of *Barnabas*, see Anthony Sheppard, “The Letter of Barnabas and the Jerusalem Temple,” *JSJ* 48, no. 4/5 (2017), 531–50. For a late second/early third-century dating, see Clare K. Rothschild, “Ethiopianising the Devil: ὁ μέλας in Barnabas 4,” *NTS* 65, no. 2 (2019), 223–45.

147 Simeon Lowy, “The Confutation of Judaism in the Epistle of Barnabas,” *JJS* 11, no. 1 (1960), 1–33.

148 “When one considers the author’s intimate and expansive knowledge of Jewish traditions, the possibility emerges that he himself is a Jewish Christian who has come to find the practices of his ancestral religion, as interpreted by certain of his Jewish co-religionists, incompatible with the worship of Jesus as Lord,” Julien C.H. Smith, “The ‘Epistle of Barnabas’ and the Two Ways of Teaching Authority,” *VC* 68, no. 5 (2014), 490. Similar proposals have been forwarded by Leslie W. Barnard, “The Epistle of Barnabas and the Tannaitic Catechism,” *ATHR* 41, no. (1959), 177–90; and, more recently, Tim Hegeudus, “Midrash in the Letter of Barnabas,” *BTB* 37, no. 1 (2007), 20–26. See also Ferdinand Prostmeier, “Antijudaismus im Rahmen christlicher Hermeneutik: Zum Streit über christliche Identität in der Alten Kirche,” *ZAC* 6, no. 1 (2002), 38–58; James Carleton Paget, “*Barnabas* 9.4: A Peculiar Verse on Circumcision,” 77–90 in Carleton Paget, *Jews, Christians, and Jewish Christians in Antiquity*, WUNT 251 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Michael Kok, “The True Covenant People: Ethnic Reasoning in the Epistle of Barnabas,” *Studies in Religion* 40, no. 1 (2011), 81–97; Rothschild, “Ethiopianising the Devil”; and Jason N. Yuh, “Do As I Say, Not As They Do: Social Construction in the Epistle of Barnabas Through Canonical Interpretation and Ritual,” *HTR* 112, no. 3 (2019), 273–95.

149 See, e.g., Barn. 9.5 (LXX Jer 9:25); Barn. 12.11 (LXX Isa 45:1); Barn. 13.2 (LXX Gen 25:23); and Barn. 14.7–8 (LXX Isa 42:6–7). The term ἀλλόφυλος also appears once, in Barn. 12.2, alluding to the Amalekites who battled Israel at Rephidim (Exod 17:8–16).

“father of many who believe in God without being circumcised.”¹⁵⁰ Later, while castigating Jews for their devotion to the Jerusalem Temple and for “setting their hope on the building,” in Barn. 16.2 the author accuses them of behaving “almost like the heathen” (σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἔθνη), having “consecrated [God] by means of the temple.” At first, this point and the discussion which follows seem to align well with Luke’s insistence that “God does not dwell in hand-made [places]” (Acts 7:48). On further reflection, however, Luke’s perspective on the Temple is decidedly much more complex.¹⁵¹ Finally, in a long paraenetic section on the “two ways” near the end of the text, the author announces that “the word of God shall not go forth from you among any who are unclean” (οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν, Barn. 19.4). No further context is given, however, so discerning exactly what the author means by ἀκαθαρσία here is nigh-impossible. The textual ambiguities of Barnabas, in addition to its uncertain provenance, suggest that it is perhaps best to reserve judgment on this early Christian writing as a suitable comparandum for Luke/Acts.

Further usage of the term τὰ ἔθνη in a way that parallels that of Luke occurs in the mid-second-century hagiographical work, *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*.¹⁵² In Mart. Pol. 9.2, as Polycarp enters the arena prior to his execution, he “looks around at the stadium of lawless gentiles” (ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας); in 12.2, Jews and gentiles alike jeer at Polycarp before his martyrdom; and finally, the narrative’s epilogue claims that as a result of his heroic death, Polycarp was widely eulogized, “even among gentiles” (ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι, 19.1). In each of the above cases, a nationalistic or ethnocentric translation of ἔθνος makes little contextual sense. At the same time, however, the ἔθνη are clearly understood by the author to be a distinct and separate social identity from that of the early Christ-worshippers.¹⁵³

150 Cf. Gen 15:6, 17:5; Rom 4:11, 17. Note also that none of the references to “children of Abraham” in either Luke or Acts include gentiles.

151 See Steve Smith, *The Fate of the Jerusalem Temple in Luke-Acts* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016); Kinzer, *Jerusalem Crucified, Jerusalem Risen*, esp. 59–128; and Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 153–96.

152 Two other references to gentiles are also associated with Polycarp of Smyrna, but for the sake of time will not be treated here: In the Latin portion of Polycarp’s *Epistle to the Philippians*, the author quotes 1 Pet 2:12 in urging Christians to conduct themselves irreproachably when “among the gentiles” (*in gentibus*, Pol. Phil.10.2); Later, in 11.2, the gentiles appear once again as a metonym for those who are ignorant of the Lord’s decrees: “Anyone who does not avoid love of money will be polluted by idolatry and will be judged as one of the gentiles (*et tanquam inter gentes iudicabitur*), who are ignorant of the Lord’s judgment” (11.2).

153 Hence the common translation of ἔθνη in Mart. Pol. as “pagans” or “heathens”; e.g., Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 317, 327.

There may be a good reason for the similarity between Luke's portrayal of the ἔθνη and that of the author of Mart. Pol.: According to Elizabeth Leigh Gibson, the "strained coherence, syntactical confusion, and textual variation" of the narrative in precisely those places where "the Jews" appear as agitators reveals the redactional seams of the text.¹⁵⁴ What originally may have served as a rebuke aimed at Christ-following "Judaizers" eventually came to be interpreted—by at least one later Christian interpolator—as a polemic against Jews as a whole.¹⁵⁵ As I argued in chapter 2 and will reiterate in the conclusion of this book, early readers of Luke and Acts experienced a similar lapse in their collective memory. This "cultural forgetting" resulted in *intra-Jewish* polemical texts being transposed into a conspicuously divergent register: Narratives that originated as squabbles among various Jewish communities eventually came to be read by gentile Christians through the lens of *anti-Jewish* polemics.

Finally, we turn to Justin Martyr, who defines the term ἔθνος in his *First Apology*. It is worth quoting Justin's explanation in full:

Why should we believe a crucified Man that He was the First-begotten of an Unbegotten God, and that He will pass judgment on the entire human race, unless we had found testimonies concerning Him foretold before He came and was made Man, and unless we had seen events happen just as foretold, namely, the devastation of the Jewish land, and men of every race believing through the teaching of His Apostles, and turning away from old customs which they had practiced in error; indeed, perceiving ourselves amongst them, and realizing that the Christians from the ranks of the gentiles are more numerous and more faithful than those from amongst the Jews and Samaritans? All other nations the Prophetic Spirit calls gentiles, whereas the Jewish and the Samaritan people are called Israel and the House of Jacob. And we can present the prophecy in which it was foretold that *the gentile converts should be more numerous than the Jewish and Samaritan converts* (1 Apol. 53).¹⁵⁶

154 E. Leigh Gibson, "The Jews and Christians in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*: Entangled or Parted Ways?" 145–58 in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 158.

155 Ibid, 158. See also Harry O. Maier, "Purity and Danger in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians: The Sin of Valens in Social Perspective," *J ECS* 1, no. 3 (1993), 229–47.

156 Thomas B. Falls, trans., *Saint Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy or the Rule of God* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 90, emphasis added.

In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin mentions τὰ ἔθνη most frequently in the context of quotations from the Septuagint (e.g., Dial. 11.3–5; 13.2–3; 13.8; 26.2–3). As we have seen, Luke takes for granted that gentiles are generally perceived to be idolaters; for Justin, rather, it is *the Jews* who have a sharp proclivity toward idolatry (Dial. 19.6, 22.1, *et passim*). Perhaps most importantly, Justin also consciously identifies *himself* as a gentile: “For [God] has shown his good favor to the gentiles and accepts *our* sacrifices more than *yours*” (εὐδόκησε γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἡδίων παρ’ ἡμῶν ἢ παρ’ ὑμῶν λαμβάνει, Dial. 29.1).

Two observations follow from the data outlined above: First, Justin appears to draw his own ethnic and moral distinctions between Jews and “the nations.” Second, however, he arrives at precisely the *opposite* evaluative judgment regarding this distinction than the word typically implies, and he supports his cause by appealing repeatedly to Israel’s scriptures. In his relentless polemicism of Jews and his defense of a distinct (and superior) gentile Christian identity, Justin plunders Israel’s scriptures searching for any prefigural hint of the inchoate gentile church. As Terence Donaldson argues, “The readiness of Justin (and others like him) to identify themselves as gentiles is driven by the ongoing need to demonstrate, as he says to Trypho, that the scriptures are ‘not yours but ours’ (29.2).”¹⁵⁷

All of this leads Donaldson to the conclusion that “Justin’s readiness to identify himself and his group as ‘gentile’—that is, as consisting of those drawn from ‘all the nations’—was due in part to its usefulness in positioning the Christian movement with respect to the analogous imperial project to draw *omnes gentes* into a trans-ethnic cultural and political unity.”¹⁵⁸ To borrow a Pauline metaphor: While Luke is concerned with carefully grafting the “wild olive shoot” of the faithful among the gentiles onto the “rich root” of Israel, Justin, by contrast, is almost single-mindedly determined to tear them apart again, and further to declare the wild branch superior to the ancient root. Regarding the relationship between Jews and gentiles, the two writers could not have held more diametrically opposed aims.

157 Terence L. Donaldson, “‘We Gentiles’: Ethnicity and Identity in Justin’s Dialogue,” *EC* 4 (2013), 216–41 (231).

158 *Ibid.*, 240. Donaldson’s conclusions have received further support throughout subsequent decades. More recently, see Nina E. Livesey, “Theological Identity Making: Justin’s Use of Circumcision to Create Jews and Christians,” *JECs* 18, no. 1 (2010), 51–79; and Susan J. Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Boston: Brill, 2011).

5 Conclusion

"Identity," says Robert Brawley, "is a *sine qua non* for persons to have a sense of self. Lost identity means a catastrophic rupture between self and community."¹⁵⁹ The author of Luke and Acts, like all of us, was raised, taught, socialized, and enculturated within a specific milieu. This enculturation, furthermore, exerted considerable influence upon Luke as he wrote his gospel and his history of the earliest Jesus-followers. In approaching Luke's use of the term ἔθνος through cognitive analysis, we may observe that Marilyn Salmon's intuition was more or less correct: in some unique circumstances, its use only "makes sense" if one is familiar with the term as an epithet for non-Jews. This explains why no ancient pagan writers refer to themselves as "non-Jews." As it turns out, however, many early Christian writers *did* use this term. Yet a static comparison of usages is methodologically problematic. In thinking about Lukan social identity using idealized cognitive models, it is important to establish how these models vary, grow, or change with the introduction of new information and new contexts. The ICM for ἔθνος, as we have seen, contains a very different set of features for Luke than it does for a mid-second-century former gentile pagan philosopher like Justin Martyr.

There are plenty of reasons why Luke might wish to portray gentiles positively—as did Josephus (*Ap.*, 2.68–70), Philo (*Flacc.* 29; *Embassy* 166–170), and other early Jewish authors—despite having reservations about their treatment of Jews.¹⁶⁰ In reality, however, Luke's treatment of gentiles in Acts exhibits a surprising ambivalence.¹⁶¹ Pontius Pilate, Gallio, Antonius Felix, Porcius Festus, and various gentile "crowds" all receive critical treatment by the author of Acts.¹⁶² Whereas Luke's depiction of τὰ ἔθνη is mixed, however,

159 Robert L. Brawley, "Nodes of Objective Socialization and Subjective Reflection in Identity: Galatian Identity in an Imperial Context," 119–143 in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. by J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 119.

160 The case may be made that in more than a few of such instances, what appears to be an effusively positive reference actually contains a "hidden transcript" that carries with it a *sotto voce* critique. See Hacham, "Hidden and Public Transcript".

161 *pace* Donaldson, who writes, "In the Acts of the Apostles, whose author may well have been gentile, ἔθνη is used in a positive way with respect to non-Jewish Christ-believers ..." Donaldson, "We Gentiles," 219n8. This is perhaps an example of the fallacy discussed by Denaux, Corstjens, and Mardaga above—that is, a clear judgment cannot be made on the meaning of a text by lexical statistics alone, but must consider the contextual clarifications offered by pragmatics, rhetoric, etc.

162 E.g., The anonymous gentile owners of the enslaved girl in Philippi, whose main charge against Paul and Silas is that "they are Jews" (Acts 16:20); and in Ephesus, the gentile riot at the theater is exacerbated by the crowd's realization that Alexander is Jewish (19:32–34).

Justin Martyr speaks of gentiles in almost universally positive terms, even when quoting scriptural passages in which τὰ ἔθνη has a decidedly negative valence, as Terence Donaldson has shown.¹⁶³ According to Donaldson,

What makes [Justin's] usage especially striking ... is that, as part of a Jewish binary formulation, 'gentiles' is not a term that non-Jews would naturally use of themselves, any more than non-Greeks would readily identify themselves as 'barbarians' ... It is one thing to come to terms with an identity imposed from without; it is quite another to embrace it enthusiastically as one's own.¹⁶⁴

Unlike Luke, Justin is *self-consciously* gentile, placing Jews and gentiles within a relatively simple binary. For Justin, Jews lack understanding and perception *as a whole*, while τὰ ἔθνη, by contrast, are generally predisposed to receiving God's revelation.¹⁶⁵ Given the opportunity to make the case for a mutually friendly parting of the ways—gentile Christians may believe in Christ, while Jews continue to follow the Law without any obligation to worship Jesus—Justin roundly rejects this possibility.¹⁶⁶ In short, as Donaldson argues, "Justin's exegetical enterprise is not only *adversus Judaeos* but also *pro gentibus*; not only 'against the Jews' but also 'for the gentiles.' Justin is willing to adopt τὰ ἔθνη as a self-descriptor precisely because it allows him to claim a scriptural pedigree for the gentile church to which he belongs."¹⁶⁷ This is a perspective that is utterly foreign to the author of Luke and Acts.

¹⁶³ Donaldson, "We Gentiles," 229ff.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 218.

¹⁶⁵ Wendel, *Scriptural Interpretation*, 187.

¹⁶⁶ "While this could easily have slidden over into the idea that, while Christians were drawn 'from the gentiles,' by coming to believe in Christ they were gentiles no longer, Justin does not make this move. For Justin, such Christians continue to be identified as gentiles. And even if he knows of some Jews who have come to believe in Christ as well, he sees the Christian group to which he belongs as characteristically gentile," Donaldson, "We Gentiles," 226.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 229.

Summary and Conclusion

Der christliche Glaube ist nur so lange christlich, als er den jüdischen in seinem Herzen trägt.

The Christian faith is only Christian as long as it retains in its heart the Jewish faith.

ERNST LOHMEYER, in a letter to MARTIN BUBER, 1933

...

Interpretation of the Bible is neither a harmless nor an innocent task.

TOBIAS NICKLAS

∴

In this book I have argued, contrary to prevailing scholarly opinion, that the author of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles was raised and enculturated within a Jewish setting, most likely a community somewhere among the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora. I have examined this topic from several different viewpoints with a variety of methodological approaches, including social memory theory, authorship theory, intertextuality and thematic analysis, and cognitive linguistics.

In chapter 1, I traced the reception history of Lukan authorship attribution throughout the second, third, and fourth centuries CE, concluding that little evidence exists to support the claim that Luke was a gentile. Contrary to the reception traditions of other New Testament texts like the Mark or John, no clear and early consensus exists regarding Luke's background.¹ Irenaeus is the first patristic author to name Luke as the author of the Third Gospel and Acts, but it is unclear whether Irenaeus's knowledge is based upon earlier sources, or if he simply made a logical inference according to his own reading of canonical

1 This is not to say that the received traditions regarding Mark or John are historically accurate, but rather simply to point out that Lukan authorship appears to have been a more contested issue for patristic writers than the authorship of Mark or John, emerging for the first time only near the end of the second century.

texts like Colossians. Elsewhere, while it is often suggested that Luke wrote for the benefit of a gentile audience (e.g., Origen; the Gospel Prologues; Eusebius), or that he was a Syrian from Antioch (e.g., the Gospel Prologues; Eusebius; Jerome), only two of the sources I examined (the Gospel Prologues and Jerome) claim that Luke himself was a “proselyte,” and to my knowledge, *none* explicitly identify him as a gentile. On the other hand, several other early sources seem to hint at the possibility that Luke may have been Jewish (e.g., Origen, Ephrem, Epiphanius), and the anonymous Muratorian Fragment describes him as “one zealous for the law” (cf. Acts 21:20), a phrase which typically denotes an enthusiastic commitment to Jewish tradition.

Drawing on social memory theory, in the second half of chapter 1 I argued that a possible reason Luke came to be “remembered” as a gentile by later patristic writers is that they may have found the image of a non-Jewish Luke useful in their polemical and apologetic encounters with early Jewish communities. By configuring Luke as a gentile, the Third Gospel and Acts became ideological tools that helped shape a distinctly Christian identity wholly distinct from its Jewish origins. The result, as Mark Kinzer has also surmised, was that certain ambiguities within the narrative of Luke/Acts were capitalized upon by anti-Jewish polemicists who sought to establish gentile Christianity’s superiority to Judaism.²

Having established the weaknesses of the historical and textual warrants for the belief that Luke was a gentile, in chapter 2 I questioned whether it is possible to draw conclusions about the biographical background of a “flesh-and-blood” author based upon their work. Engaging with the work of authorship theorists like Roland Barthes and Seán Burke, I argued that it is indeed possible discern some traces of Luke’s social and cultural milieu based upon the text of Luke/Acts. While acknowledging the near impossibility of retrieving “authorial intent,” and resisting the temptation to reduce all textual meaning to the historical circumstances from which a text emerged, I concluded that an author is never wholly separable from the text she creates, and that autobiographical elements of the author’s subjectivity are inevitably left behind within the text as a kind of “residue”. By pairing a close synchronic reading of a text with additional diachronic research about the world in which the text emerged,

2 “On the one hand, [Luke] sought to counter a school of Pauline enthusiasts who interpreted [Paul’s] letters in a manner that was hostile to Jews and Judaism. On the other hand, he recognized the positive potential of the Pharisaic-influenced proto-rabbinic school of thought that was emerging in the wake of a ruined temple and priesthood. As it turned out, the anti-Jewish Pauline enthusiasts succeeded in fracturing the Lukan *euangelion*.” Mark Kinzer, *Jerusalem Crucified, Jerusalem Risen: The Resurrected Messiah, the Jewish People, and the Land of Promise* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2018), 17.

I proposed that it is indeed possible to construct a provisional “icon” of the author, however contingent and subject to revision that icon might be.

In chapters 3 and 4 I analyzed two Lukan themes which cast further critical doubt on the widespread assumption that the author was non-Jewish. Attending to Luke’s interpretation of Israel’s scriptures, in chapter 3 I argued that, far from simply appropriating the scriptures to weave a supersessionist Christian narrative of the early church’s triumph over Judaism, Luke’s two-fold exegetical concern for christology and ecclesiology instead places his reading of “the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms” squarely among the various interpretive traditions of Hellenistic Judaism.³ Moreover, I also considered whether a gentile—either a formerly pagan “godfearer” or a Jewish proselyte—would have possessed the means and skill to acquire Luke’s encyclopedic grasp of Israel’s scriptures. Compared to other roughly contemporaneous Greco-Roman writers who discuss Jewish beliefs and practices, if Luke were in fact a gentile he would be essentially the *only* extant non-Jewish source from antiquity to interpret Jewish scripture and theology with such precision and literary skill.⁴ I find this scenario thoroughly improbable and generally unsupported by comparable literary evidence. It is much more plausible that Luke received, perhaps earlier in his life, some sort of formal education pertaining to Jewish theology, philosophy, and scriptural interpretation.

Building upon foundations established by Jacob Jervell and E.P. Sanders, in chapter 5 I examined the recurring emphasis throughout Luke and Acts of concern for upholding Jewish law. Rebutting common objections that Luke misinterprets Torah in pursuit of a wider supersessionist Christian agenda, I argued instead that Luke’s narrative reveals an author with a broader, more magisterial grasp of Jewish law than many contemporary scholars acknowledge, portraying both Jesus and the Apostle Paul as consummate “doers of Torah”. This particular theme of Luke/Acts receives sharper focus when readers understand the

3 To be sure, christology and ecclesiology are both anachronistic theological labels for Luke. As Jacob Jervell argued fifty years ago and as we have seen here, Luke’s “ecclesiological” focus is more accurately understood as a concern regarding the claim of competing groups to the title, “People of God”.

4 *pace* Lester L. Grabbe, “What Did the Author of Acts Know about Pre-70 Judaism,” 450–62 in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. by J. Harold Ellens, et al., DCLS 38 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), who argues that the author reveals a shocking lack of understanding of pre-70 Jewish beliefs and practices. Grabbe’s points are well taken, but his essay is (in my view) overly tendentious, methodologically problematic, and extremely selective in his presentation of the data. For a much more balanced treatment of the same data, see Peter J. Tomson, “Josephus, Luke-Acts, and Politics in Rome and Judaea by 100 CE,” 427–54 in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE*, ed. by Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

cultic concepts of ritual and moral impurity shared by Hellenistic, Palestinian, and sectarian Jewish communities alike during the Second Temple Period. Reading against the backdrop of Jewish beliefs concerning the origin, spread, and amelioration of moral impurity, I argued that while Luke believed Jewish followers of the Way were still expected to observe the requirements of the Torah, gentiles may be saved *as gentiles* without needing to undergo circumcision or conversion to Judaism. These gentile believers, however, must also maintain a degree of moral purity to prevent the Temple, the people, and the land of Israel itself from becoming defiled and thus rendering those residing in Jerusalem especially susceptible to exile. Given the author's approval of Torah adherence for Jews, his grasp of moral impurity, and his insider references to Jewish festivals like Pentecost and Yom Kippur, Luke and Acts line up remarkably well with the four criteria of Sanders's "common Judaism," especially compared with other Hellenistic Jewish sources like Philo of Alexandria.

Lastly, in chapter 5 I reconsidered Marilyn Salmon's question about whether it is reasonable to believe that an early gentile-Christian writer would use the term "gentile/gentiles" (ἔθνος/τὰ ἔθνη) so pervasively throughout his own work, given that the epithet is an emic Jewish term for non-Jews. Carefully investigating Luke's vocabulary using social-scientific data on in-group/out-group designations in antiquity, I proposed an Idealized Cognitive Model to help clarify Luke's use of the term ἔθνος. By comparing Luke's gentile-ICM with that of other early apostolic writings, I concluded that Luke's perspective on non-Jews shares little in common with the characterization of gentiles in the works of Ignatius of Antioch and Justin Martyr.

1 Reading Luke and Acts after the Shoah

To return to Foucault's question from chapter 2: "What does it matter who is speaking?" Quite a lot, actually. Not just because we are concerned with history and its plausible reconstruction, but because the act of reading and engaging a text *always* presents the reader with ethical choices. "Interpretation of the Bible," Tobias Nicklas rightly argues, "is neither a harmless nor an innocent task."⁵ This is where my work begins, with what Foucault calls a "returning-to":

5 Tobias Nicklas, "Creating the Other: The 'Jews' in the Gospel of John: Past and Future Lines of Scholarship," 49–66 in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. by Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). See also Nicklas's "ethos of exegetical responsibilities" in Nicklas, "Verantwortete Exegete: Reflexionen (auch) anhand der Geschichte der Jesusforschung," 73–90 in *Jesus Christus: Von alttestamentlichen*

a movement toward an idea's origin that may lead to reframing, reconceptualizing, and rediscovering what previously has been missed or hidden.⁶ It is precisely this "returning-to" that underscores the importance of the relationship between author and work. "The 'author-function,' sufficiently complex at the level of a book or a series of texts that bear a definite signature, has other determining factors when analyzed in terms of larger entities—groups of works or entire disciplines."⁷ This, I argue, is why it is so crucial to return to the idea of Lukan authorship. Beyond reader-response criticism for its own sake, which sets up the reader as the final adjudicator of meaning (rather than, for example, the community for whom the text is authoritative), we must acknowledge the role that texts play in shaping the collective human imagination, and the influence they exert upon a wide range of human decisions and activities.

I began my research for this project shortly after the end of the first year of Donald Trump's presidency. Following the August 2017 "Unite the Right" white-supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, I began informally to document instances of anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish hate crimes as they appeared across news headlines. Within a few months, however, I simply lost count—a startling indication of the dramatic increase of anti-Semitic and white-supremacist activity on American soil in the past decade. On August 12, 2017, a group of white supremacists led by Richard Spencer of the so-called "Alt-Right" movement marched through the streets of Charlottesville with torches while shouting "Jews will not replace us." Similarly, on January 23, 2018, several Jewish residents from the small town of Whitefish, Montana—including a rabbi—received threatening emails and social media posts from white supremacists, including memes with captions like "you should go jump in an oven" and "We're going to come cremate you."⁸ Earlier in 2018, Russian president Vladimir Putin faulted "Jews with Russian citizenship" with meddling in the 2016 U.S. election.⁹ A 2018 study by the Southern Poverty Law Center noted a 22 percent rise in the number of neo-Nazi hate groups in the United States

Messiasvorstellungen bis zur literarischen Figur, ed. by Thomas Fornet-Ponse, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 25 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2015).

6 Foucault, "What Is An Author?" 113–138 in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard, trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 134–5.

7 Ibid, 136.

8 Kirk Siegler, "Descending On A Montana Town, Neo-Nazi Trolls Test Where Free Speech Ends," *NPR*, January 23, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/01/23/579884628/victims-of-neo-nazi-troll-storm-find-difficulties-doing-something-about-it>.

9 Jonathan Lis, "Vladimir Putin: Maybe 'Jews with Russian Citizenship' Meddled in U.S. Elections," *Haaretz*, March 10, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/putin-maybe-jews-with-russian-citizenship-meddled-in-u-s-elections-1.5888887>.

since 2016.¹⁰ As Susannah Heschel and others have shown, these contemporary incidents find their roots in the systematic suppression of Jewishness that was endemic to the study of early Christianity by German biblical scholars throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹¹ This suppression culminated in 1939 with the National Socialist Party's establishment of the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life, and continues to bear rotten fruit to this day.¹²

The belief commonly shared by many Christians—whether consciously or unconsciously—that Judaism is a religion of “laws and legalism” while Christianity is a religion of “grace and forgiveness” is one of the most persistent and insidious ideologies in churches across the denominational spectrum today. For example, Brad East has recently noted that a renewed interest in the Roman Catholic critique of liberalism has also revived a theology of

10 *Al Jazeera News*, “Hate groups in US grow for third straight year: SPLC.” Feb. 21, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/hate-groups-grow-straight-year-splc-180221192119355.html>.

11 See Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Shawn Kelley, *Racializing Jesus: Race, Ideology and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and more recently, Elisabeth Lorenz, *Ein Jesusbild im Horizont des Nationalsozialismus: Studien zum Neuen Testament des ‘Instituts zur Erforschung und Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben’*, WUNT 2.440 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). On the view of early nineteenth-century German scholars that Jesus was an Aryan, see Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1930); Wolfgang Fenske, *Wie Jesus zum “Arier” wurde: Auswirkungen der Entjudaisierung Christi im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005). See also Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, trans. by Noah Jonathan Jacobs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975); Robert P. Eriksen, *Theologians under Hitler: Gerhard Kittel, Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); and Wayne A. Meeks, “A Nazi New Testament Professor Reads His Bible: The Strange Case of Gerhard Kittel,” 513–544 in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. by Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman (Boston: Brill, 2004).

12 Ernst Haenchen, whom Jacob Jervell viewed as his primary intellectual opponent, was a member of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party beginning in 1939. See Ernst Haenchen, “Volk und Staat in der Lehre Kirche,” in *Volk, Staat, und Kirche* (Giessen, 1933); Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), esp. 66–76; and Ulrich Busse, “Ernst Haenchen und sein Johanneskommentar,” *ETL* 57, no. 1 (1981), 125–43. Relatedly, see Denise Kimber Buell, “Anachronistic Whiteness and the Ethics of Interpretation,” 149–67 in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts, and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*, ed. by Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell (London: T&T Clark, 2018).

supersessionism and anti-Judaism, and that “the need to confront [this supersessionist theology] is urgent.”¹³ Most supersessionism today passes under the radar, passively absorbed by both conservative and progressive congregations alike through the sermons they hear from the pulpit or the weeknight Bible studies they attend. In his recent book, *Irresistible: Reclaiming the New that Jesus Unleashed for the World*, popular evangelical personality Andy Stanley encourages Christian readers to freely abandon their connection to Israel’s past: “Jesus, the apostle Paul, the author of Hebrews, and the Jerusalem Council have given us permission to unhitch our faith from God’s covenant with Israel. Actually, they didn’t just give us permission; they highly recommended it.”¹⁴ This “soft” supersessionism, however, is no less dangerous,¹⁵ a fact that is now all too clear in the wake of recent anti-Jewish violence perpetrated by white Christian churchgoers.¹⁶ In particular, the use of Luke’s gospel and especially the Acts of the Apostles to justify and encourage the antagonism of Jewish communities by Christians is deeply unsettling.¹⁷

Israel’s scriptures are often deeply, jarringly, almost embarrassingly self-critical, at times even self-condemning. In a way, this is partly what makes them such a compelling source of perennial wisdom. But it is one thing for the collected literature of a people to help them cast a reflective glance backward at their own cultural history and covenantal relationship to YHWH—including those times when the relationship has faltered—for the purpose of

13 Brad East, “The Specter of Marcion: Why God and the Jews Are a Package Deal,” *Commonweal*, Feb. 11, 2019, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/specter-marcion>.

14 Andy Stanley, *Irresistible: Reclaiming the New that Jesus Unleashed for the World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018), 158.

15 On the distinction between “hard” and “soft” supersessionism, see David Novak, “Supersessionism Hard and Soft,” *First Things* 290 (Feb. 2019), 1–9.

16 See, for example, the April 27, 2019, shooting at the Chabad of Poway synagogue in Poway, California, which left one dead and three injured. Julie Zauzmer, “The Alleged Synagogue Shooter Was a Churchgoer Who Talked Christian Theology, Raising Tough Questions for Evangelical Pastors,” *Washington Post*, May 1, 2019.

17 On the use of Luke and Acts to promote supersessionist or anti-Jewish ideology, see, e.g., François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950–2005)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 91; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age: A Commentary on St. Luke’s Gospel* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988), 13–15; William R. Farmer, ed., *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), esp. 63–119; Thomas H. Olbricht, “Exegetical and Theological Presuppositions in Nineteenth-Century American Commentaries on Acts,” 359–86 in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, ed. by Patrick Gray and Gail R. O’Day (Boston: Brill, 2008); Arie W. Zwiep, “Judas and the Jews: Anti-Semitic Interpretation of Judas Iscariot, Past and Present,” 77–99 in Zwiep, *Christ, the Spirit and the Community of God: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*, WUNT 2.293 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); and Robert C. Tannehill, “Acts of the Apostles and Ethics,” *Int* 66, no. 3 (2012), 270–82.

self-correction and communal edification. It is another thing for an entirely separate cultural tradition to appropriate and weaponize those scriptures against their intended audience. This is not to say that modern anti-Judaism emerged out of a systematic or programmatic effort by the earliest Christ-worshippers to denigrate and destroy Judaism. Far from it—by now, there should be little doubt that most (if not *all*) of the New Testament writers saw themselves as writing within a messianic Jewish context. But over time, as Christianity expanded from a provincial Jewish sect to a popular and politically dominant gentile “religion,” this cultural context was gradually abandoned and ultimately lost. Ironically, Christian anti-Judaism emerged for the same reason that the Israelite scriptural tradition did: a community ceased to understand their rootedness to a particular time, place, and relationship to their God. In short, Christians forgot their past.¹⁸

2 Conclusion

Opportunities for further study abound. Disappointingly little contemporary research exists concerning Luke’s reliance on other contemporary Jewish literature, especially Sirach and Wisdom, but also the Maccabean literature, Tobit, the pseudepigrapha, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The full extent of Luke’s grasp of Judaism in the Second Temple period remains to be seen, including his knowledge of Jewish sectarianism and his insistence upon the eschatological in-gathering and restoration of Israel as God’s people.¹⁹ Reading Luke and Acts as Jewish texts also raises a host of larger additional questions I have been unable to address here, including how this approach might force us to rethink Luke’s aims in narrating the so-called “mission to the gentiles”.

Perhaps the limits of historical epistemology prevent us from making a summary judgment concerning Luke’s Jewishness. It is my hope that, if nothing else, this work has highlighted some of the fault lines of the ongoing debate

18 For an excellent application of this theory to Paul’s supposed “anti-Jewish” rhetoric, see Erkki Koskenniemi, “Forgetting an Epic Battle: Did the Early Church Understand the Debate between Paul and His Judaistic Opponents? Preliminary Notes on the Role of the Torah in the Early Church,” 143–68 in *The Challenge of the Mosaic Torah in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. by Antti Laato (Boston: Brill, 2021).

19 On which see Isaac Oliver’s recently published monograph, *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021); W. Gil Shin, “The Double Entendre of Paul’s Trade as *σκηνοποιός* (Acts 18:3): Working for Israel’s Restoration in the Greco-Roman World,” *NovT* 64 (2022), 36–53; and Jason Moraff, *Reading Luke-Acts after Supersessionism: The Salvation of Israel and the Nations in Accordance with the Scriptures*, LNTS (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming).

regarding the authorial perspective behind Luke/Acts, and that I have offered readers a variety of potential starting points for subsequent research. “Even provisional books and provisional suggestions,” Claude Montefiore keenly observed, “may have their temporary uses.”²⁰

Yet to study history is not to deal in certainties, and in this book I have consciously sought to avoid any language of certainty. Rather, the study of history and the interpretation of ancient texts *by necessity* depend upon subjective and hypothetical reconstructions and calculated probabilities based upon the available data. If I have succeeded at little else with this research, it should at least by now be clear that within a wide cross-section of secondary scholarly literature on Luke/Acts, Luke’s non-Jewishness is frequently assumed but seldom argued, and that it is certainly anything but an established fact worthy of being taken for granted.²¹ In any case, it seems especially prudent now with respect to Luke’s ethnic and religious identity to insist upon Isaac Oliver’s pithy axiom as a starting point for future study: “Jewish till proven gentile.”²²

I remain convinced that Luke and Acts were composed by a Torah-observant follower of the Way. By virtue of his Jewish upbringing Luke felt compelled to explain, in narrative form, the contemporary crisis of identity facing early Jews and Christ-worshippers alike in the late first century CE, a crisis that Paul himself famously struggles to resolve in Rom 9–11: Why has Jesus’s messianic claim been largely rejected by God’s own people? What does the sudden inundation of the eschatological community with non-Jews mean for the hope of Israel’s eventual restoration? And what role does the Law of Moses continue to

20 Claude G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909), xx.

21 What might be the result of insisting on the inclusion of Luke/Acts among the confirmed Jewish texts of the Second Temple period, and what results may have been skewed by its historical *exclusion*? Eva Mroczek, for instance, has argued that the “Book of Psalms” did not comprise a recognizable category for Jews of the Second Temple period, yet it is almost certain that Mroczek does not number Luke/Acts among the available corpora of Hellenistic Jewish texts; thus, Peter’s reference to the βιβλος Ψαλμῶν in Acts 1:20 is ignored as potential counterevidence to her hypothesis. See Mroczek, “The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature,” *JAJ* 6, no. 1 (2015), 2–35. In a curiously similar yet contrasting claim, R. Steven Notley notes that while no other Greek text in the entire corpus of Hellenistic Jewish literature employs the phrase “the Book of the Prophet Isaiah” as Luke does in his gospel (βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἰσααίου, Luke 4:17), the phrase בְּסֵפֶר יְשַׁעְיָה הַנְּבִיא (“[according to] the Book of the Prophet Isaiah”) nonetheless appears seven times in various Hebrew fragments at Qumran. See Notley, “Jesus’ Jewish Hermeneutical Method in the Nazareth Synagogue,” 46–59 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, Vol. 2: *Exegetical Studies*, ed. by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, LNTS 392 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 49.

22 Oliver, *Torah Praxis After 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 447.

play in this ethnically heterogeneous body which confesses fealty to the risen Lord and Christ, who now sits as judge at the right hand of God? In shaping his narrative according to the language and customs of God's encovenanted people, and by saturating his account of the earliest Christ followers with stories drawn from the deep well of God's redemptive acts in Israel's history, so the author of the Third Gospel and Acts indelibly binds himself and his readers to the celebrated past and future hope of the Jewish people. Luke, in other words, was not a Christian.

Appendix: Insider/Outsider Language in Luke and Acts

ἀδελφός

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 3:1	ἀδελφοῦ	Herod was ruler of Galilee, and his brother Philip ruler of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis ...	
Luke 3:19	ἀδελφοῦ	Herod the ruler, who had been rebuked by [John] because of Herodias, his brother's wife ...	
Luke 6:14	ἀδελφόν	Simon, whom [Jesus] named Peter, and his brother Andrew ...	
Luke 6:41	ἀδελφοῦ	"Why do you see the speck in your brother's eye ...?"	
Luke 6:42	ἀδελφῷ	"Or how can you say to your brother ..."	
Luke 6:42	ἀδελφέ	"Brother, let me take out the speck in your eye ..."	
Luke 6:42	ἀδελφοῦ	"then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye"	
Luke 8:19	ἀδελφοὶ	Then his mother and his brothers came to him ...	
Luke 8:20	ἀδελφοὶ	He was told, "Your mother and your brothers are standing outside ..."	
Luke 8:21	ἀδελφοὶ	But he said to them, "My mother and my brothers are those who hear the word ..."	
Luke 10:39	ἀδελφῇ	[Martha] had a sister named Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet ...	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 10:40	ἀδελφῇ	"Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to do all the work?"	
Luke 12:13	ἀδελφῷ	Someone in the crowd said to him, "Teacher, tell my brother to divide our inheritance ..."	
Luke 14:12	ἀδελφούς	"Do not invite your friends or your brothers or your relatives ..."	
Luke 14:26	ἀδελφούς	"Whoever ... does not hate father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters ..."	
Luke 14:26	ἀδελφάς	"Whoever ... does not hate father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters ..."	
Luke 15:27	ἀδελφός	"Your brother has come, and your father has killed the fatted calf ..."	
Luke 15:32	ἀδελφός	"We had to celebrate and rejoice, because this brother of yours ..."	
Luke 16:27	ἀδελφούς	"Send [Lazarus] to my father's house, for I have five brothers ..."	
Luke 17:3	ἀδελφός	"If your brother sins, you must rebuke the offender ..."	
Luke 18:29	ἀδελφούς	"There is no one who has left house or wife or brothers or parents ..."	
Luke 20:28	ἀδελφός	"Moses wrote for us that if a man's brother dies ..."	
Luke 20:28	ἀδελφός	"His brother shall marry the widow ..."	
Luke 20:28	ἀδελφῷ	"and raise up children for his brother."	
Luke 20:29	ἀδελφοὶ	"Now there were seven brothers ..."	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 21:16	ἀδελφῶν	"You will be betrayed even by parents and brothers, by relatives and friends ..."	
Luke 22:32	ἀδελφοὺς	"When once you have turned back, strengthen your brothers."	
Acts 1:14	ἀδελφοῖς	All these were constantly devoting themselves to prayer ... as well as [Jesus's] brothers.	
Acts 1:15	ἀδελφῶν	In those days Peter stood up among the brothers ...	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 1:16	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, it was necessary that the scriptures be fulfilled"	
Acts 2:29	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, I may say to you confidently of our ancestor David ..."	<i>NRSV: "fellow Israelites"</i>
Acts 2:37	ἀδελφοί	"Brothers, what should we do?"	
Acts 3:17	ἀδελφοί	"And now, brothers, I know that you acted in ignorance ..."	
Acts 3:22	ἀδελφῶν	"Moses said, 'The Lord will raise up for you from your brothers a prophet like me ...'"	
Acts 6:3	ἀδελφοί	"Therefore, brothers, select from among yourselves [deacons] ..."	<i>NRSV: "friends"</i>
Acts 7:2	ἀδελφοὶ	"Men, brothers and fathers, listen to me ..."	
Acts 7:13	ἀδελφοῖς	"On the second visit Joseph made himself known to his brothers ..."	
Acts 7:23	ἀδελφοὺς	"When he was forty years old, it came into [Moses's] heart to visit his brothers, the sons of Israel"	
Acts 7:25	ἀδελφοὺς	"[Moses] supposed that his brothers would understand that God through him was rescuing them"	<i>NRSV: "kinsfolk"</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 7:26	ἀδελφοί	"Moses said to them, 'Men, you are brothers; why do you wrong each other?'"	
Acts 7:37	ἀδελφῶν	"[Moses said] 'God will raise up a prophet for you from your brothers'"	
Acts 9:17	ἀδελφέ	"Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus, who appeared to you on your way here ..."	
Acts 9:30	ἀδελφοί	When the brothers learned of it, they brought [Paul] down to Caesarea	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 10:23	ἀδελφῶν	The next day he got up and went with them, and some of the brothers from Joppa accompanied him	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 11:1	ἀδελφοί	Now the apostles and the brothers who were in Judea heard that the gentiles had also accepted the word of God ...	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 11:12	ἀδελφοί	"These six brothers also accompanied me, and we entered the man's house."	
Acts 11:29	ἀδελφοῖς	The disciples determined that according to their ability, each would send relief to the brothers living in Judea.	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 12:2	ἀδελφόν	[Herod] had James, the brother of John, killed with the sword	
Acts 12:17	ἀδελφοῖς	"Tell this to James and to the brothers."	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 13:15	ἀδελφοί	"Brothers, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, give it."	
Acts 13:26	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, sons of Abraham, and others who fear God ..."	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 13:38	ἀδελφοί	"Let it be known to you therefore, my brothers, that through this man forgiveness of sins is proclaimed"	
Acts 14:2	ἀδελφῶν	Unfaithful Jews stirred up the gentiles and poisoned their minds against the brothers.	<i>NRSV: "unbelieving Jews"</i>
Acts 15:1	ἀδελφοὺς	Certain individuals came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers ...	
Acts 15:3	ἀδελφοίς	[Paul and Barnabas] reported the conversion of the gentiles, and brought great joy to all the brothers.	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 15:7	ἀδελφοί	Men, brothers, you know that God made a choice among you ...	
Acts 15:13	ἀδελφοί	Men, brothers, listen to me.	
Acts 15:22	ἀδελφοίς	They sent Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leaders among the brothers, with the following letter ...	
Acts 15:23	ἀδελφοί	"The brothers, both the apostles and the elders ..."	
Acts 15:23	ἀδελφοίς	"to the brothers of gentile origin in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia"	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 15:32	ἀδελφοὺς	Judas and Silas said much to encourage and strengthen the brothers ...	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 15:33	ἀδελφῶν	[Judas and Silas] were sent off in peace by the brothers to those who had sent them.	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 15:36	ἀδελφοὺς	"Come, let us return and visit the brothers in every city where we proclaimed the Word of the Lord ..."	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 15:40	ἀδελφῶν	“Paul chose Silas and set out, the brothers commending him to the grace of the Lord”	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 16:2	ἀδελφῶν	[Timothy] was well spoken of by the brothers in Lystra and Iconium ...	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 16:40	ἀδελφοὺς	When [Paul and Silas] had seen and encouraged the brothers [in Lydia's home], they departed.	
Acts 17:6	ἀδελφοὺς	When the mob could not find [Paul and Silas], they dragged Jason and some brothers before the city authorities.	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 17:10	ἀδελφοὶ	That very night the brothers sent Paul and Silas off to Beroea ...	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 17:14	ἀδελφοὶ	Then the brothers immediately sent Paul away to the coast, but Silas and Timothy remained behind.	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 18:18	ἀδελφοῖς	After staying in [Achaia] for a considerable time, Paul said farewell to the brothers and sailed for Syria ...	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 18:27	ἀδελφοὶ	When [Paul] wished to cross over to Achaia, the brothers encouraged him ...	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 20:32	ἀδελφοί	“And now I commend you, brothers, to God and to the message of his grace”	<i>Only in Byz mss</i>
Acts 21:7	ἀδελφοὺς	We arrived at Prolemais and we greeted the brothers and stayed with them for one day.	<i>NRSV: “believers”</i>
Acts 21:17	ἀδελφοί	When we arrived in Jerusalem, the brothers welcomed us warmly.	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 21:20	ἀδελφέ	You see, brother, how many thousands of believers there are among the Jews, and they are all zealous for the law.	
Acts 22:1	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers and fathers, listen to my defense ..."	
Acts 22:5	ἀδελφοὺς	"From [the Sanhedrin] I also received letters to the brothers in Damascus"	
Acts 22:13	ἀδελφέ	"Brother Saul, regain your sight!"	
Acts 23:1	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, up to this day I have lived my life with a clear conscience before God."	
Acts 23:5	ἀδελφοί	"I did not realize, brothers, that he was high priest ..."	
Acts 23:6	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees."	
Acts 23:16	ἀδελφῆς	"Now the son of Paul's sister heard about the ambush"	
Acts 28:14	ἀδελφοὺς	[At Puteoli] we found brothers and were invited to stay with them for seven days.	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 28:15	ἀδελφοί	The brothers there, when they heard of us, came as far as the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns to meet us.	<i>NRSV: "believers"</i>
Acts 28:17	ἀδελφοί	"Men, brothers, though I had done nothing against our people or the customs of our ancestors ..."	
Acts 28:21	ἀδελφῶν	"We have received no letters from Judea about you, and none of the brothers coming here has spoken anything evil about you."	

Context from NRSV except where noted otherwise.

γένος

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 4:6	γένους	all who were of high-priestly descent	
Acts 4:36	γένει	Joseph, a Levite of Cyprian birth ...	
Acts 7:13	γένος	"Joseph's family was disclosed to Pharaoh ..."	
Acts 7:19	γένος	"It was he who took shrewd advantage of our race and mis-treated our fathers ..."	
Acts 13:26	γένους	"Men, sons of Abraham's lineage"	
Acts 17:28	γένος	"For we too are his offspring"	
Acts 17:29	γένος	"Being therefore the offspring of God ..."	
Acts 18:2	γένει	Aquila, a native of Pontus ...	
Acts 18:24	γένει	Apollos, a native of Alexandria	

ἔθνος

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 2:32	ἐθνῶν	"a light of revelation for the gentiles"	<i>contrasted with</i> <i>λαός Ἰσραήλ</i>
Luke 7:5	ἔθνος	"he [the centurion] loves our people, and it is he who built our synagogue for us"	<i>ref. "our people"</i>
Luke 12:30	ἔθνη	"for all the nations of the world [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου] strive after these things"	
Luke 18:32	ἔθνεσιν	"[the Son of Man] will be handed over to the gentiles ..."	
Luke 21:10	ἔθνος	"nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom"	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 21:10	ἔθνος	“nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom”	
Luke 21:24	ἔθνη	“they will ... be taken away as captives among all the nations [τὰ ἔθνη πάντα] ...”	
Luke 21:24	ἐθνῶν	“Jerusalem will be trampled on by the gentiles”	
Luke 21:24	ἐθνῶν	“until the times of the gentiles are fulfilled”	
Luke 21:25	ἐθνῶν	“distress among nations confused by the roaring of the sea ...”	
Luke 22:25	ἐθνῶν	“the kings of the gentiles rule over them ...”	
Luke 23:2	ἔθνος	“We found this man [Jesus] misleading our nation ...”	<i>ref. “our nation”</i>
Luke 24:47	ἔθνη	“repentance and forgiveness is to be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem”	
Acts 2:5	ἔθνους	Devout Jews from every nation ...	<i>ref. Jewish diaspora</i>
Acts 4:25	ἔθνη	“Why did the gentiles rage ...?” [Ps 2:1]	
Acts 4:27	ἔθνεσιν	Herod, Pilate, the gentiles and Israel “gathered together against your holy servant Jesus”	
Acts 7:7	ἔθνος	God said, ‘I will judge the nation that they [the Israelites] serve’ [i.e., Egypt]	
Acts 7:45	ἐθνῶν	“the nations that God drove out [of Canaan] before our ancestors”	
Acts 8:9	ἔθνος	Simon Magus “amazed the people of Samaria”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 9:15	ἔθνῶν	"[Saul] is an instrument I have chosen to bring my name before gentiles, kings, and the people of Israel"	
Acts 10:22	ἔθνους	Cornelius is "spoken well of by the whole Jewish nation"	
Acts 10:35	ἔθνει	"God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him ... is acceptable to him."	
Acts 10:45	ἔθνη	"The circumcised believers ... were astounded that the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the gentiles"	
Acts 11:1	ἔθνη	"the gentiles had accepted the word of God"	
Acts 11:18	ἔθνεσιν	"God has given even to the gentiles the repentance that leads to life"	
Acts 13:19	ἔθνη	God "destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan"	
Acts 13:42	εἰθνη	"the gentiles urged them to talk about these things at the next sabbath" (παρεκαλουν τα εθνη εις το μεταξυ σαββατον)	<i>only in Byz mss</i>
Acts 13:46	ἔθνη	"we are now turning to the gentiles"	
Acts 13:47	ἔθνῶν	"the Lord has commanded us, saying, 'I have set you to be a light for the gentiles'"	
Acts 13:48	ἔθνη	"When the gentiles heard this, they were glad ..."	
Acts 14:2	ἔθνῶν	"But disobedient <i>Ioudaioi</i> stirred up the gentiles ..."	
Acts 14:5	ἔθνῶν	"Both gentiles and Jews" attempt to stone Paul and Barnabas	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 14:16	ἔθνη	"In past generations he allowed all the nations to follow their own ways ..."	
Acts 14:27	ἔθνεσιν	"God had opened a door of faith for the gentiles"	
Acts 15:3	ἐθνῶν	"as they passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, they reported the conversion of the gentiles"	
Acts 15:7	ἔθνη	"God made a choice ... that I should be the one through whom the gentiles would hear the [Gospel]"	
Acts 15:12	ἔθνεσιν	"[Paul and Barnabas told about] the signs and wonders God had done through them among the gentiles"	
Acts 15:14	ἐθνῶν	"Simeon related how God first looked favorably on the gentiles ..."	
Acts 15:17	ἔθνη	"all other peoples may seek the Lord—even all the gentiles ..." [Amos 9:12]	
Acts 15:19	ἐθνῶν	"we should not trouble those gentiles who are turning to God"	
Acts 15:23	ἐθνῶν	"To the believers of gentile origin in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia ..."	
Acts 17:26	ἔθνος	"from one ancestor he made all nations to inhabit the whole earth"	
Acts 18:6	ἔθνη	"From now on I will go to the gentiles"	
Acts 21:11	ἐθνῶν	"The Jews in Jerusalem will bind [Paul] and hand him over to the gentiles"	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 21:19	ἔθνεσιν	“the things that God had done among the gentiles”	
Acts 21:21	ἔθνη	“they have been told that you teach all the Jews living among the gentiles to forsake Moses”	
Acts 21:25	ἔθνῶν	“We have sent a letter ... to the gentiles who have become believers”	
Acts 22:21	ἔθνη	Jesus said to [Paul], “Go, for I will send you far away to the gentiles”	
Acts 24:2	ἔθνει	“Because of you we have long enjoyed peace, and reforms have been made for this people because of your foresight”	
Acts 24:10	ἔθνει	“for many years you have been a judge over this nation”	
Acts 24:17	ἔθνος	“I came to bring alms to my nation ...”	
Acts 26:4	ἔθνει	“my life spent from the beginning among my own people and in Jerusalem”	
Acts 26:17	ἔθνῶν	Jesus said to Paul: “I will rescue you from your people and from the gentiles”	
Acts 26:20	ἔθνεσιν	“I declared first to those in Damascus, then in Jerusalem, Judea, and also to the gentiles ...”	
Acts 26:23	ἔθνεσιν	“the Messiah must suffer and ... proclaim light both to our people and to the gentiles”	
Acts 28:19	ἔθνους	“I had no charge to bring against my nation”	
Acts 28:28	ἔθνεσιν	“this salvation of God has been sent to the gentiles”	

Ἰουδαῖος

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 7:3	Ἰουδαίων	“[The centurion] sent some Jewish elders to [Jesus], asking him to come and heal his slave”	
Luke 23:3	Ἰουδαίων	Pilate asked him, ‘Are you the king of the Judeans?’	
Luke 23:37	Ἰουδαίων	“If you are the king of the Judeans, save yourself!”	
Luke 23:38	Ἰουδαίων	“There was also an inscription over him, ‘This is the King of the Judeans’”	
Acts 2:5	Ἰουδαῖοι	“There were devout Jews from every nation under heaven ...”	
Acts 2:10	Ἰουδαῖοί	“Visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes ...”	
Acts 2:14	Ἰουδαῖοι	“Men, Judeans and all who live in Jerusalem ...”	
Acts 9:22	Ἰουδαίους	“Saul became increasingly more powerful and confounded the Jews who lived in Damascus ...”	
Acts 9:23	Ἰουδαῖοι	“After some time had passed, the Jews plotted to kill him.”	
Acts 10:22	Ἰουδαίων	“Cornelius, a centurion ... who is well spoken of by the whole Jewish nation”	
Acts 10:28	Ἰουδαίῳ	“You yourselves know that it is unlawful for a Jew ...”	
Acts 11:1	Ἰουδαίαν	“Now the apostles and the brothers who were in Judea heard that the gentiles had accepted ...”	
Acts 11:1	Ἰουδαίοις	“Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, and they spoke the word to no one except Jews”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 11:29	Ἰουδαίᾱ	“The disciples determined ... each would send relief to the brothers in Judea”	
Acts 12:2	Ἰουδαίοις	“After [King Herod] saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter”	
Acts 12:11	Ἰουδαίων	“Now I am sure that the Lord ... rescued me ... from all that the Jewish people were expecting”	
Acts 13:5	Ἰουδαίων	“[Barnabas and Saul] proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews [in Salamis]”	
Acts 13:6	Ἰουδαῖον	“They met a certain magician, a Jewish false prophet named bar-Jesus”	
Acts 13:43	Ἰουδαίων	“When the meeting of the synagogue broke up, many Jews and devout converts ...”	
Acts 13:45	Ἰουδαῖοι	“When the Jews saw the crowds, they were filled with jealousy ...”	
Acts 13:50	Ἰουδαῖοι	“But the Jews incited the devout women of high standing ...”	
Acts 14:1	Ἰουδαίων	“Paul and Barnabas went into the synagogue of the Jews ...”	
Acts 14:1	Ἰουδαίων	“A great number of both Jews and Greeks became believers ...”	
Acts 14:2	Ἰουδαῖοι	“The disloyal Jews stirred up the gentiles and pointed their minds against the brothers”	
Acts 14:4	Ἰουδαίοις	“The residents of the city were divided; some sided with the Jews ...”	
Acts 14:5	Ἰουδαίων	“When an attempt was made by both gentiles and Jews, with their rulers, to stone [Paul and Barnabas] ...”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 14:19	Ἰουδαῖοι	“Jews came there from Antioch and Iconium and won over the crowds”	
Acts 16:1	Ἰουδαίας	“Timothy, the son of a faithful Jewish woman”	
Acts 16:3	Ἰουδαίους	“[Paul] had [Timothy] circumcised because of the Jews who were in [Lystra and Iconium]”	
Acts 16:20	Ἰουδαῖοι	“They are Jews ...”	
Acts 17:1	Ἰουδαίων	“[Paul and Silas] came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue of the Jews”	
Acts 17:5	Ἰουδαῖοι	“The Jews became jealous, and with the help of some ruffians in the marketplace ...”	
Acts 17:10	Ἰουδαίων	“When [Paul and Silas] arrive in Berea, they went to the synagogue of the Jews”	
Acts 17:13	Ἰουδαῖοι	“When the Jews of Thessalonica learned that Paul proclaimed the word of God in Berea ...”	
Acts 17:17	Ἰουδαίοις	“Paul argued in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons ...”	
Acts 18:2	Ἰουδαῖον	“Paul found a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus ...”	
Acts 18:2	Ἰουδαίους	“Claudius had ordered all Jews to leave Rome”	
Acts 18:4	Ἰουδαίους	“Every sabbath [Paul] would argue in the synagogue and would try to convince Jews and Greeks”	
Acts 18:5	Ἰουδαίοις	“Paul was occupied with proclaiming the word, testifying to the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 18:12	Ἰουδαῖοι	"When Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews made a united attack on Paul ..."	
Acts 18:14	Ἰουδαίους	"Gallio said to the Jews, 'If it were a matter of crime or serious villainy ...'"	
Acts 18:14	Ἰουδαῖοι	"I would be justified in accepting the complaint of you Jews ..."	
Acts 18:19	Ἰουδαίοις	"[Paul] went into the synagogue and had a discussion with the Jews"	
Acts 18:24	Ἰουδαῖος	"Now there came to Ephesus a Jew named Apollos ..."	
Acts 18:28	Ἰουδαίοις	"[Apollos] powerfully refuted the Jews in public ..."	
Acts 19:10	Ἰουδαίους	"All the residents in Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord"	
Acts 19:13	Ἰουδαίων	"Some itinerant Jewish exorcists tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus ..."	
Acts 19:14	Ἰουδαίου	"Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this ..."	
Acts 19:17	Ἰουδαίοις	"This became known to all the residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks ..."	
Acts 19:33	Ἰουδαίων	"Some of the crowd gave instructions to Alexander, whom the Jews had pushed forward"	
Acts 19:34	Ἰουδαίος	"When they recognized [Alexander] was a Jew ..."	
Acts 20:3	Ἰουδαίων	"A plot was made against [Paul] by the Jews ..."	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 20:19	Ἰουδαίων	"I lived among you ... serving the Lord ... enduring the trials that came to me through the plots of the Jews"	
Acts 20:21	Ἰουδαίοις	"I testified to both Jews and Greeks about repentance"	
Acts 21:11	Ἰουδαῖοι	"This is the way the Jews in Jerusalem will bind the man ..."	
Acts 21:20	Ἰουδαίων	"You see, brother, how many thousands of believers there are among the Jews ..."	
Acts 21:21	Ἰουδαίους	"They have been told that you teach all the Jews living among the gentiles to forsake Moses"	
Acts 21:27	Ἰουδαῖοι	"When the seven days were almost completed, the Jews from Asia stirred up the whole crowd"	
Acts 21:39	Ἰουδαῖος	"I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia"	
Acts 22:3	Ἰουδαῖος	"I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia" [lit. "I myself am a man, a Jew"]	
Acts 22:12	Ἰουδαίων	"A certain Ananias ... well spoken of by all the Jews living there ..."	
Acts 22:30	Ἰουδαίων	"Since the tribune wanted to find out what Paul was being accused of by the Jews ..."	
Acts 23:12	Ἰουδαίων	"In the morning the Jews joined in a conspiracy ..."	
Acts 23:20	Ἰουδαῖοι	"The Jews have agreed to ask you to bring Paul down to the council tomorrow ..."	
Acts 23:27	Ἰουδαίων	"This man was seized by the Jews and was about to be killed by them"	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 24:5	Ἰουδαίοις	“We have, in fact, found this man a pestilent fellow, an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world ...”	
Acts 24:9	Ἰουδαῖοι	“The Jews also joined in the charge by asserting that all this was true.”	
Acts 24:19	Ἰουδαῖοι	“There were some Jews from Asia—they ought to be here before you make an accusation”	
Acts 24:24	Ἰουδαίᾱ	“Felix came with his wife Drusilla, who was Jewish ...”	
Acts 24:27	Ἰουδαίοις	“Since he wanted to grant the Jews a favor, Felix left Paul in prison.”	
Acts 25:2	Ἰουδαίων	“The chief priests and the leaders of the Jews gave [Festus] a report against Paul”	
Acts 25:7	Ἰουδαῖοι	“When [Paul] arrived, the Jews who had gone down from Jerusalem surrounded him”	
Acts 25:8	Ἰουδαίων	“I have in no way committed an offense against the law of the Jews ...”	
Acts 25:9	Ἰουδαίοις	“Festus, wishing to do the Jews a favor, asked Pau ...”	
Acts 25:10	Ἰουδαίους	“I have done no wrong to the Jews, as you very well know.”	
Acts 25:15	Ἰουδαίων	“When I was in Jerusalem, the chief priests and elders of the Jews informed me about [Paul] ...”	
Acts 25:24	Ἰουδαίων	“You see this man about whom the whole Jewish community petitioned me ...”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 26:2	Ἰουδαίων	“I consider myself fortunate that it is before you that I am to make my defense against the accusations of the Jews”	
Acts 26:3	Ἰουδαίους	“You are especially familiar with all the customs and controversies of the Jews”	
Acts 26:4	Ἰουδαῖοι	“All the Jews know my way of life from my youth”	
Acts 26:7	Ἰουδαίων	“It is for [the hope of the promise made by God] that I am accused by Jews!”	
Acts 26:21	Ἰουδαῖοι	“For this reason the Jews seized me in the temple”	
Acts 28:17	Ἰουδαίων	“Three days later he called together the local leaders of the Jews”	
Acts 28:19	Ἰουδαίων	“When the Jews objected, I was compelled to appeal to the emperor”	

Ἰσραὴλ

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 1:16	υἱὼν Ἰσραὴλ	“He will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord”	<i>Sons of Israel</i>
Luke 1:54	Ἰσραὴλ	“He has helped his servant Israel ...”	
Luke 1:68	Ἰσραὴλ	“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel”	
Luke 1:80	Ἰσραὴλ	“[John] was in the wilderness until the day he appeared publicly to Israel”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 2:25	Ἰσραήλ	"[Simeon] was looking for the consolation of Israel"	
Luke 2:32	Ἰσραήλ	"A light of revelation to the gentiles, and glory to your people Israel"	
Luke 2:34	Ἰσραήλ	"This child is destined for the falling and rising of many in Israel"	
Luke 4:24	Ἰσραήλ	"There were many widows in Israel in the time of Elijah ... yet Elijah was sent only a widow at Zarephath in Sidon"	
Luke 4:27	Ἰσραήλ	"There were also many lepers in Israel ... yet none of them was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian"	
Luke 7:9	Ἰσραήλ	[of the centurion] "Not even in Israel have I found such faith"	
Luke 22:30	Ἰσραήλ	"You will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel"	
Luke 24:21	Ἰσραήλ	"But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel"	
Acts 1:6	Ἰσραήλ	"Lord, is this the time when you will restore the kingdom to Israel?"	
Acts 2:22	Ἰσραηλίται	"Men, Israelites ..."	
Acts 2:36	Ἰσραήλ	"Let the entire house of Israel know ... that God has made Jesus both Lord and Messiah"	
Acts 3:12	Ἰσραηλίται	"Men, Israelites ..."	NRSV: "You Israelites"
Acts 4:8	Ἰσραήλ	"Rulers of the people and elders of Israel"	mss: D, E, Ψ
Acts 4:10	Ἰσραήλ	"Let it be known to you, and to all the people of Israel, that this man [has been healed in Jesus' name]"	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 4:27	Ἰσραήλ	"Both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles and the peoples of Israel ..."	
Acts 5:21	Ἰσραήλ	"The high priest called together the council and the whole body of the elders of Israel"	
Acts 5:31	Ἰσραήλ	"God exalted [Jesus] as Leader and Savior that he might give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins."	
Acts 5:35	Ἰσραηλῖται	"Men, Israelites ..."	
Acts 7:23	Ἰσραήλ	"When he was forty years old, it came into [Moses'] heart to visit his brothers, the sons of Israel"	<i>Sons of Israel</i>
Acts 7:37	Ἰσραήλ	"This is the Moses who said to the sons of Israel ..."	<i>Sons of Israel</i>
Acts 7:42	Ἰσραήλ	"Did you offer to me sacrifices forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel?" (cf. Amos 5:25)	
Acts 9:15	Ἰσραήλ	"The Lord said to [Ananias], 'Go, for he is an instrument whom I have chosen to bring my name ... before the sons of Israel'"	<i>Sons of Israel</i>
Acts 10:36	Ἰσραήλ	"You know the message [God] sent to the people of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ"	
Acts 13:16	Ἰσραηλῖται	"Men, Israelites ..."	
Acts 13:17	Ἰσραήλ	"The God of this people Israel chose our ancestors ..."	
Acts 13:23	Ἰσραήλ	"Of [David's] posterity God has brought to Israel a Savior, Jesus, as he promised ..."	
Acts 13:24	Ἰσραήλ	"Before [Jesus], John had already proclaimed a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel"	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 21:28	Ἰσραηλῖται	"Men, Israelites, help!"	
Acts 28:20	Ἰσραήλ	"It is for the sake of the hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain."	

λαός

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 1:10	λαοῦ	"the whole assembly of the people was praying outside"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 1:16	λαόν	"He will turn many of the people of Israel to the Lord their God"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 1:21	λαός	"the people were waiting for Zechariah"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 1:68	λαῶ	"[The Lord God of Israel] has looked favorably on his people and redeemed them."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 1:77	λαῶ	John the Baptizer will "give knowledge of salvation to [God's] people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 2:10	λαῶ	"I am bringing you good news of great joy for all the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 2:31	λαῶν	"My eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples"	<i>ambiguous</i>
Luke 2:32	λαοῦ	"glory for your people Israel"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 3:15	λαοῦ	"the people were filled with expectation" questioning whether John might be the Messiah	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 3:18	λαόν	"With many other exhortations, [John] proclaimed the good news to the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 3:21	λαόν	"Now when all the people were baptized, and when Jesus also had been baptized ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 6:17	λαοῦ	"a great multitude of people from all Judea, Jerusalem, and the coast of Tyre and Sidon"	<i>ambiguous</i>
Luke 7:1	λαοῦ	"After Jesus had finished all his sayings in the hearing of the people ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 7:16	λαόν	"They glorified God, saying ... 'God has looked favorably on his people!'"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 7:29	λαός	"All the people who heard this, including the tax collectors, acknowledged the justice of God"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 8:47	λαοῦ	"she declared in the presence of all the people why she had touched [Jesus]"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 9:13	λαόν	The disciples asked how "we are to go and buy food for all these people."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 18:43	λαός	"All the people, when they saw it, praised God"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 19:47	λαοῦ	"the chief priests, the scribes, and the leaders of the people kept looking for a way to kill him"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 19:48	λαός	"all the people were spellbound by what they heard"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 20:1	λαόν	Jesus was “teaching the people in the temple and telling the good news”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 20:6	λαός	“If we say ‘of human origin,’ all the people will stone us”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 20:9	λαόν	“[Jesus] began to tell the people this parable ...”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 20:19	λαόν	“When the scribes and chief priests realized Jesus had told this parable against them ... they feared the people”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 20:26	λαοῦ	“[the scribes and chief priests] were not able in the presence of the people to trap [Jesus] in what he said”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 20:45	λαοῦ	“in the hearing of all the people [Jesus] said to the disciples, ‘Beware of the scribes ...’”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 21:23	λαῶ	“For there will be great distress on the earth and wrath against this people”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 21:38	λαός	“all the people would get up early in the morning to listen to [Jesus] in the temple”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 22:2	λαόν	“The chief priests and scribes ... were afraid of the people.”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 22:66	λαοῦ	“the assembly of the elders of the people, both chief priests and scribes, gathered together and brought [Jesus] to their council”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 23:5	λαόν	“He stirs up the people by teaching throughout all Judea ...”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 23:13	λαόν	"Pilate then called together the chief priests, the leaders, and the people ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 23:14	λαόν	"You brought to me this man as one who was perverting the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 23:27	λαοῦ	"a great number of the people followed him"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 23:35	λαός	"the people stood by, watching [Jesus be crucified]"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Luke 24:19	λαοῦ	"[Jesus was] a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 2:46	λαόν	"They broke bread at home ... praising God and having the goodwill of all the people."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 3:9	λαός	"all the people saw him walking and praising God"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 3:12	λαόν	"When Peter saw it, he addressed the people ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 3:23	λαοῦ	"whoever does not listen to that prophet will be utterly rooted out from the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 3:11	λαός	"all the people ran together to [Peter and John] in the portico called Solomon's Portico"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:1	λαόν	"While Peter and John were speaking to the people ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:2	λαόν	"The priests, the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees [were] much annoyed because [Peter and John] were teaching the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 4:8	λαοῦ	"Rulers of the people and elders, if we are questioned today because of a good deed done ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:10	λαῶ	"Let it be known to you, and to all the people of Israel"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:17	λαόν	"But to keep it from spreading further among the people, let us warn them ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:21	λαόν	"After threatening them again, they let them go, finding no way to punish them because of the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 4:25	λαοὶ	"Why did the gentiles rage and the peoples imagine vain things?" [Ps 2:1]	<i>ambiguous</i>
Acts 4:27	λαοῖς	"Both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles and the peoples of Israel, gathered together against Jesus"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:12	λαῶ	"Now many signs and wonders were done among the people through the apostles"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:13	λαός	"None of the rest dared to join them, but the people held them in high esteem"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:20	λαῶ	"Go stand in the temple and tell the people the whole message about this life."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:25	λαόν	"The men you imprisoned are standing in the temple and teaching the people!"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:26	λαόν	"[The temple police] were afraid of being stoned by the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 5:34	λαῶ	"A Pharisee in the council named Gamaliel ... respected by all the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 5:37	λαὸν	"Judas the Galilean rose up at the time of the census and got people to follow him"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 6:8	λαῶ	"Stephen ... did great wonders and signs among the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 6:12	λαὸν	"[The Synagogue of the Freedmen] stirred up the people as well as the elders and the scribes ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 7:17	λαὸς	"our people in Egypt increased and multiplied ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 7:34	λαοῦ	"I have surely seen the mistreatment of my people who are in Egypt ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 10:2	λαῶ	"Cornelius ... gave alms generously to the people and prayed constantly to God"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 10:41	λαῶ	"God raised him on the third day and allowed him to appear, not to all people but to us ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 10:42	λαῶ	"He commanded us to preach to the people and to testify ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 12:4	λαῶ	Herod intended to bring Peter "out to the people after the Passover"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 12:11	λαοῦ	"The Lord has ... rescued me from ... all that the Jewish people were expecting"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 13:15	λαὸν	"Brothers, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, give it."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 13:17	λαοῦ	"The God of this people Israel chose our ancestors ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 13:17	λαὸν	"The God of this people Israel chose our ancestors and made the people great during their stay in Egypt"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 13:24	λαῶ	"John ... proclaimed a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 13:31	λαόν	"[Those who came with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem] are now God's witnesses to the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 15:14	λαόν	"to take from among [the gentiles] a people for his name"	
Acts 18:10	λαός	"there are many in this city who are my people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 19:4	λαῶ	"John baptized with the baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 21:28	λαοῦ	"This is the man [Paul] who is teaching everyone everywhere against our people ..."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 21:30	λαοῦ	"Then all the city was aroused, and the people rushed together"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 21:36	λαοῦ	"The multitude of the people were following, crying out, 'Away with him!'"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 21:39	λαόν	"I beg you, let me speak to the people"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 21:40	λαῶ	"Paul ... motioned to the people for silence."	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 23:5	λαοῦ	"For it is written, 'You shall not speak evil of a leader of your people.'" [Exod 22:28]	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 26:17	λαοῦ	"I will rescue you from your people and from the gentiles"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 26:23	λαῶ	"By being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to our people and to the gentiles"	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 28:17	λαῶ	“Though I had done nothing against our people or the customs of our ancestors ...”	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 28:26	λαὸν	“Go to this people and say, ‘You will indeed listen, but never understand ...’” [Isa 6:9]	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>
Acts 28:27	λαοῦ	“For the heart of this people has grown dull ...” [Isa 6:10?]	<i>Israel and/or Jews</i>

Miscellaneous

	Word	Context	Notes
Luke 15:15	πολιτῶν	Parable of the Prodigal Son: Apparently these citizens were non-Jewish, as they kept pigs (χοίρους)?	
Luke 17:18	ἀλλογενῆς	“Was none of them found to return and give praise to God except this foreigner?”	<i>hapax legomenon</i>
Acts 5:17	αἵρεσις	“the sect of the Sadducees”	<i>extradiegetic description^a</i>
Acts 6:1	Ἑλληνιστῶν	“the Hellenists complained against the Hebrews”	

a On modes of discourse in Hellenistic narrative, see Rutger J. Allan, “Towards a Typology of the Narrative Modes in Ancient Greek: Text Types and Narrative Structure in Euripidean Messenger Speeches,” pp. 171–204 in *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek*, ed. by Stéphanie Bakker and Gerry Wakker (Boston: Brill, 2009). See also Hogeterp and Denaux’s use of Allan’s typology in *Semitisms in Luke’s Greek*, 494–99.

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 7:29	πάροικος	Moses became a “resident alien” in the land of Midian	
Acts 9:29	Ἑλληνιστάς	“[Saul] spoke and argued with the Hellenists, but they were attempting to kill him”	
Acts 10:28	ἄλλοφύλῳ	“You yourselves know it is unlawful for a Jew to associate with a foreigner ...”	<i>hapax legomenon</i>
Acts 10:45	περιτομῆς	“The faithful from among the circumcision faction who had come with Peter were astounded that the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the gentiles.”	
Acts 11:2	περιτομῆς	Peter is accosted in Jerusalem by members of the circumcision faction (περιτομῆς)	
Acts 11:3	ἀκροβυστίαν	“you ate with foreskin-having men”	<i>NRSV: “uncircumcised”</i>
Acts 11:20	Ἑλληνιστάς	“Among them were some men of Cyprus and Cyrene who ... spoke to the Hellenists [at Antioch]”	
Acts 11:26	Χριστιανούς	“[I]t was in Antioch that the disciples were first called ‘Christians.’”	
Acts 12:22	δῆμος	“The people kept shouting, ‘The voice of a god, and not of a mortal!’”	
Acts 15:5	αἱρέσεως	“some believers who belonged to the sect of the Pharisees stood up ...”	
Acts 16:1	Ἑλληνας	Timothy’s “father, however, was a Greek”	
Acts 16:3	Ἑλληνα	“they all knew that [Timothy’s] father was a Greek”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 17:4	Ἑλλήνων	“a great many of the devout [σεβομένων] Greeks” joined Paul and Silas in Thessalonica	
Acts 17:5	δῆμος	“[The <i>Ioudaioi</i>] were seeking to bring [Paul and Silas] out to the people”	
Acts 17:12	Ἑλληνίδων	“Many of [the Jews at the Beroean synagogue] believed, including not a few Greek women and men of high standing”	
Acts 17:18	ξένων	“He [Paul] seems to be a proclaimer of foreign divinities ...”	<i>hapax legomenon</i>
Acts 17:21	ξένοι	“All the Athenians and the foreigners living there ...”	<i>cf. Matt 25:35, 25:43, 25:38, 25:44, 27:7; Rom 16:23(?); Eph 2:12,19; Heb 11:13, 13:9; 1 Pet 4:12; 3 John 1:5</i>
Acts 18:4	Ἑλληνας	“Every sabbath he would ... try to convince Jews and Greeks” at the Corinth synagogue	
Acts 18:17	Ἑλληνες	“then all the Greeks seized Sosthenes ...”	<i>only in some mss</i>
Acts 19:10	Ἑλληνας	“all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord”	
Acts 19:17	Ἑλλησιν	“all the residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks, [were] awestruck”	

(cont.)

	Word	Context	Notes
Acts 19:30	δῆμον	"Paul wished to go into the crowd, but the disciples would not let him."	
Acts 19:33	δῆμῳ	"Alexander motioned for silence and tried to make a defense before the people."	
Acts 20:21	Ἑλλῆσιν	"I testified to both Jews and Greeks about repentance towards God ..."	
Acts 21:28	Ἑλλήνας	"[Paul] has brought Greeks into the temple and has defiled this holy place"	
Acts 23:9	μέρους	"some of the scribes from the party of the Pharisees were contending ..."	
Acts 24:5	αἱρέσεως	"We have found [Paul] to be a pestilent fellow ... and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes"	
Acts 24:14	αἵρεσιν	"This I admit to you, that according to the Way, which they call a sect ..."	
Acts 26:5	αἵρεσιν	"I have belonged to the strictest sect of our religion and lived as a Pharisee"	
Acts 26:28	Χριστιανὸν	"Are you so quickly persuading me to become a Christian?"	
Acts 28:22	αἱρέσεως	"We would like to hear what you think, for with regard to this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against."	

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In this volume, Joshua Paul Smith challenges the long-held assumption that Luke and Acts were written by a gentile, arguing instead that the author of these texts was educated and enculturated within a Second-Temple Jewish context. Advancing from a consciously interdisciplinary perspective, Smith considers the question of Lukan authorship from multiple fronts, including reception history and social memory theory, literary criticism, and the emerging discipline of cognitive sociolinguistics. The result is an alternative portrait of Luke the Evangelist, one who sees the mission to the gentiles not as a supersession of Jewish law and tradition, but rather as a fulfillment and expansion of Israel's own salvation history.

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